

A SUMMARY
OF
UNIVERSAL HISTORY;
IN NINE VOLUMES.

EXHIBITING
THE RISE, DECLINE, AND REVOLUTIONS OF THE
DIFFERENT NATIONS OF THE WORLD,
FROM THE CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF
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A SUMMARY
OF
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

SICILY.

IF the continent has had its tempests, the islands have been exposed to political commotions also. Sicily is the largest in the Mediterranean. It is of a triangular form; and almost two hundred leagues in circumference. The soil is fertile, particularly in corn; for this reason it was formerly called the granary of Rome. The air is pure and salubrious, and the sea produces abundance of fish. On account of its situation and ports, it is one of the most convenient countries in the world for commerce. It contains mines. Mount Gibello emits flames; throws up stones and ashes; and alarms the inhabitants by its roaring: its convulsions have often overturned cities, and covered the island with ruins. No country has given birth to more men of learning and genius. *Æschylus,*

Sicily, an island in the Mediterranean, between Italy and Africa.

Diodorus Siculus, Empedocles, Gorgias, Euclid, Archimedes, Epicharmus, and Theocritus, were all natives of this island.

In the Tuscan sea, near Sicily, lie the *Æolian* or *Vulcanian* isles; so called because *Vulcan* is supposed to have had his forges there, and *Æolus* to have confined in them the winds subject to his command: that is, the whistling of the winds through the caverns of these isles, and their volcanic fires, excited the idea of forges and tempests. *Lipari*, the chief of them, is fertile; and abounds with alum, sulphur, bitumen, and hot springs. *Stromboli*, equally fertile, is exposed to the devastation of a very active volcano. Many of the other small islands in the neighbourhood are entirely barren. Some inhabitants are found in the *Ægean* isles, which lie on the other side; but they are not numerous.

Origin.

The Cyclops and the Lestrigons were giants, descended from *Japhet*, who landed in Sicily after the confusion of tongues. This account is as void of probability as the fable which makes them to have been of an enormous stature, gives them one eye in the middle of the forehead, and supposes them to have been feeders on human flesh. The Cyclops, who were destroyed, but in what manner is not known, were succeeded by the *Sicani*, who came from the banks of the river *Sicanus* in Spain. The number of the inhabitants was augmented by some Trojans after the de-

struction of their country. The Siculi, or Sicilians, went thither as exiles from Ausonia, or deserters from Liguria. After these the Greeks arrived in Sicily from Colchos, Achaia, and Doris. Italy also furnished some colonies; and Cretans, Rhodians, and many other islanders, landed on different parts of the coast, where each built a city. Hence that prodigious number of cities by which the shores of the island are bordered.

The Sicani at first had as many kings as cities; but they afterwards united under one sovereign; and, as a nation, were long superior to the other people who arrived after them. The Siculi enjoyed the same advantage, which was the cause of their mutual destruction. The Carthaginians produced peace between them, by subduing both. At length Syracuse, which was indebted for its origin to a Corinthian, usurped the chief power, and continued for a long time the mistress of Sicily.

Syracuse was divided into four parts, which ^{Syracuse.} were considered as so many cities, each fortified, and the whole enclosed with a triple wall, furnished with towers. It had two gates, defended by castles. Its commerce rendered it one of the richest cities in the world. It had at first kings; but afterwards the democratic government was established. This alteration was continued; and Syracuse exhibits, for several years in succession, the spectacle

of a state of liberty under the popular government, and of slavery under tyrants.

Gelo,
2514.

The first of these was Gelo: This prince ought to reconcile us with the appellation tyrant. In our language it excites the idea of an oppressor; but Gelo was mild, just, and generous. History ascribes to him every virtue; and reproaches him with no vice: it appears, however, that his authority, if not usurped, was at least obtained by surprize. Having introduced himself into Syracuse by his address, he gained the favour of the people, who invested him with absolute power. Some wars, which he carried on with his neighbours, were attended with advantage to the capital. He selected from among them all the rich people, whom he carried to Syracuse; and by these means laid a foundation for the immense commerce which rendered that city so opulent. The slaves who were taken in the course of the war he ordered to be transported from the island: in general, he was unwilling to suffer too great a number of them to remain in the cities: and he employed the same precaution in regard to the populace, in consequence of this maxim—that it is easier to govern a thousand rich citizens than one who has nothing to lose.

By these means, when Xerxes undertook his famous invasion of Greece, Gelo found himself in a condition to offer to the Greeks two hundred

galleys, four thousand cavalry, twenty thousand infantry, two thousand archers, two thousand slingers, and that he would maintain the Grecian army during the war, on condition of his having the chief command. It was, however, fortunate that this offer was refused; for while he was proposing to send all his forces from the island, the Carthaginians, whom Xerxes had subsidized to make a diversion in his favour, landed in Sicily an army of three hundred thousand men, collected from all parts of Africa, under the command of Hamilcar. They moored their ships, which were in number five thousand, close to the land, and laid siege to Himera. Gelo, who beheld them with great uneasiness, especially as they had partisans in Sicily, among whom were the inhabitants of Selinuntum, intercepted a letter, by which he learned that the day following, while Hamilcar was to be employed in sacrificing to Neptune, in a camp occupied by his naval army, whom he had brought on shore, a body of cavalry was to join him from that city. The letter by Gelo's order was conveyed to Hamilcar with great punctuality. While Hamilcar was engaged with his sacrifice, having around him only a few unarmed soldiers, the cavalry appeared, in number as had been indicated, with the Selinuntine dress, and advancing towards Hamilcar put him to death. They then dispersed the troops, and burnt the ships, while the other camp was attacked by Gelo. The conflagration

gration of the fleet struck a terror into the enemy, so that the Syracusans had only the trouble of killing them, or of making slaves, who transported the booty to Syracuse. None of the vessels escaped except eight, which were at sea; but these being swallowed up by a storm, there remained only one sloop to convey to Carthage the news of this disaster. The Carthaginians in the utmost consternation, and imagining that they already saw Gelo at their gates, sent a deputation to him to supplicate for mercy. He received them into favour, and only required that they would agree to the following conditions: to pay a sum of money for the expences of the war; to erect a temple in which the treaty should be preserved; and to abolish human sacrifices.—To employ power for imposing such laws is noble.

Gelo being in a state of peace removed the foreign troops from the city, and convoked a general assembly, giving orders that all the citizens should attend it with their arms. He himself appeared unarmed: and, addressing the astonished and impatient multitude, gave a circumstantial account of his conduct; of the manner in which he had employed the sums entrusted to his care; and of the use he had made of his authority. “Never,” added he, “have I had any thing in view but the public good. If I have, however, committed any fault through ignorance, it is in your power to punish me, as I have neither guards nor any

“ other means of defence against you who are
“ armed.” Every one present was affected by
the truth of this address, and the confidence he
displayed. Hitherto he had appeared only in the
modest quality of prætor of Syracuse; but the
people wished that he should assume the title of
king, transmissible to Hiero and Thrasybulus, his
two brothers.

The Syracusans ordered also that in remem-
brance of the confidence he had shewn in appear-
ing without guards and without arms, and in
committing his life into their hands, a statue should
be erected representing him in the habit of a hum-
ble citizen. Afterwards, when the statues of kings
and tyrants had been multiplied, one of them,
more ambitious of pleasing than of governing
his fellow-citizens, not only restored liberty to
Syracuse, but, to efface even the slightest traces
of slavery, commanded all these statues to be
melted down for the benefit of the public. This
measure was not executed by a blind populace
without order or discernment. All these statues,
or rather those they represented, were brought to
trial; and they were all condemned, the statue of
Gelo alone excepted, as being a just monument of
the gratitude which the Syracusans entertained
towards so worthy a monarch.

He is one of the few who have become better
on the throne. He is praised for the care he took
not to load his subjects with taxes. On embar-

raising occasions he borrowed from them; and they lent readily, because he paid with punctuality. He was not fond of those arts which minister to pleasure; and declared himself an enemy to every thing which tended to corrupt the morals. He frequently walked out into the fields; and conversed familiarly with the labourers. Gelo took no part of royalty but its cares and fatigue. He was often heard to say: "The Syracusans, when they placed the crown on my head, could have no other object in view, by conferring such a striking mark of favour, than to induce me to defend the state; to protect innocence; and to give to my subjects, by a simple, modest and frugal life, an example of those virtues which they ought to practise." He faithfully adhered to this kind of engagement; and it is remarked that his last words, on his death-bed, were an order to his brother not to deviate, in his funeral obsequies, from the simplicity prescribed. The people repaid this respect for the laws by their tears and regret; and by decreeing to him those honours which, at that period, were paid to demi-gods or heroes.

Hiero Thra-
sybulus,
a532.

Gelo and his brother Hiero, by whom he was succeeded, exhibit two very different portraits. Diodorus Siculus represents the latter as an avaricious, cruel prince, who was far from possessing the same sincerity as Gelo. He adds, that on mere suspicion he endeavoured to dispatch his brother

Thrasylbulus; and that he oppressed his subjects to such a degree that they would have deposed him, had they not been restrained by a remembrance of the virtues of Gelo. Ælian, on the other hand, extols this prince on account of his justice, liberality, and excellent disposition. He says, that the poorest people are less disposed to receive than he was to give; that his generosity knew no bounds; that he was the friend of the sciences and fine arts; that nothing could equal his candour and sincerity; and that he lived in the most perfect harmony with his brothers.

This contrast may be explained by distinguishing two epochs in the life and reign of Hiero:—the first, when full of strength and vigour he suffered himself to obey the impulse of a savage and ferocious disposition; the second, when attacked by a lingering disease, he shut himself up in his palace and made reflexions which produced in him a wonderful change. During this indisposition his greatest pleasure was to converse with learned men, whom he invited from all quarters to visit him. Among these were Basilides, Epicharmus, Æschylus, Simonides, and Pindar: three poets, and two philosophic courtiers. These were sufficient to cut the pencil of history in such a manner, that it should afterwards trace out nothing but praise.

In regard to Thrasylbulus, his portrait is delineated only in one manner:—he was cruel and sanguinary. By his pride one might have said that he

believed himself to be of a nature different from that of his subjects. All those who gave him the least cause of offence were massacred. With him riches were a sufficient signal for proscription. Incensed by this oppressive conduct, the Syracusans took up arms. The tyrant fortified himself in one of the quarters of the city, from which he offered to enter into a treaty; but the people would hear of no other terms than that he should abdicate and quit Sicily. He at length submitted, and retired to Italy to linger out his life in obscurity.

Petalim,
A.D. 2544.

His departure restored liberty to the Syracusans, who established a democracy, which, however, assigned the magistracies to the principal inhabitants. They excluded likewise foreigners, to whom Gelo had granted the freedom of the city out of gratitude for the very great services they had rendered during the war. They remonstrated; and as no attention was paid to their complaints they seized upon one of the quarters of the city; but their provisions being intercepted, they were obliged to combat and were defeated. The same thing took place in several other towns where foreigners, for the same reason, had been established with the like privileges. The Sicilians then believed that, as they were delivered from foreign troops, they had no longer occasion to be apprehensive of tyrants; yet there frequently appeared among the rich, men who seemed to aspire at authority. Some of these were repressed before their pretensions had

an opportunity of bursting forth; and others were punished after they had publicly displayed them. At last, the Syracusans, that they might free themselves from the embarrassment of being continually on the watch, established a law similar to that of ostracism, at Athens, which they called *petalism*, because they employed in it a leaf, called in Greek *petalos*. It was inscribed with the name of any person who by his riches, influence, or merit, seemed likely to raise himself to supreme authority; and if condemned, by a plurality of voices, he was banished without farther examination. The severity and frequent employment of this law made men of merit avoid exposing themselves to it. They deserted the country; and the magistracies by these means were filled with the dregs of the people, and citizens destitute of talents. The abuse of it produced a remedy. *Petalism* was abolished; and the reins of government were committed into hands capable of managing them.

It is not uncommon to see a spirit of conquest insinuate itself into republics. Syracuse, which refused to obey others, attempted to subdue the cities around it; but they entered into a league against the common enemy, and finding themselves too weak called in the assistance of the Athenians. These people, whether from a desire of plunder, or love of glory, had long wished to form an establishment in Sicily; and when the

War against
the Atheni-
ans,
A.D. 2588.

confederate towns sent orators to explain their wants, they scarcely gave themselves time to deliberate. Nicias, a prudent general, whom the public esteem marked out for that expedition, endeavoured to make some remonstrances; but his voice was drowned by the clamours of a few young officers who breathed nothing but war. The people, hurried on by their enthusiasm, would admit of no delay. Nicias required a hundred galleys, and five thousand land forces; both of which were instantly provided, with a sufficiency of money to defray the expences. The senate sent for the chiefs to receive their orders; and being no less sanguine in its hopes of victory, addressed them as follows: "The Syracusans, and the inhabitants of Selimuntum, their allies, you will transport from the country in order to be sold as slaves. The rest shall pay an annual tribute, and receive laws from Athens."

Next morning the army, consisting of seven thousand choice troops, with that air of triumph which young soldiers readily assume, marched from the city to the Pyraus, where the fleet was waiting to receive them. All the citizens, together with the strangers then at Athens, hastened to the port to behold this spectacle. As soon as the troops had embarked, the sails were unfurled, and a trumpet gave the signal for departure. Solemn prayers were poured forth to the gods; and the officers and soldiers, according to custom, drank

from gold and silver vases to the happy success of the enterprize.

It was not, however, so easy as the Athenians had imagined. They found very little resource in those whom they had gone to assist. They were obliged to support almost the whole burthen of the war ; but they began it in a very brilliant manner, and arrived before Syracuse, which they besieged by sea and by land. The Syracusans were reduced to great distress by famine, and above all by the want of water. They were induced therefore to speak of surrendering just at the moment when the arrival of Gylippus, the Lacedemonian general, was announced to them. Wherever the Athenians made an attack, they were sure of finding themselves opposed by Spartans. These auxiliaries revived the drooping courage of the Syracusans, who gained such advantages, that Nicias was under the necessity of demanding a reinforcement from Athens.

After the great hopes which had been conceived, the Athenians were astonished at this demand ; but it did not discourage them. They dispatched another fleet, commanded by Demofthenes, a brave and enterprising general ; and having on board eight thousand troops, warlike machines, and an immense quantity of provisions. It arrived with the air and parade of victory. The sterns of the ships were crowned with flowers, and the masts ornamented with streamers, while the

besieged city resounded with the shouts and noise of trumpets which proceeded from the fleet and the camp.

As these fresh troops were inflamed with a desire of signalizing themselves, Demosthenes induced Nicias to make an assault, which was not attended with success. The Athenians, who blockaded Syracuse, found themselves blockaded in the harbour. The necessity of forcing a retreat, of which they began to be sensible, obliged them to make a last effort to save their fleet; and this effort occasioned one of the bloodiest battles mentioned in history. The two armies were drawn up on the shore, while the inhabitants covered the summits of the walls, and the most elevated parts of their houses, which overlooked the port. The two fleets attacked each other with a bravery which degenerated into a species of phrenzy. The slaughter on both sides was dreadful. The lamentable cries of the wounded, and of those perishing in the waves, added to those which proceeded from the armies stationed on the shore, prevented the troops from hearing the word of command. Each followed the dictates of his own courage. As the battle was fought close to the walls of the city, parents were witnesses to the death of their children; and wives to that of their husbands. One friend beheld another pierced with the fatal shaft without being able to assist him. After the contest had been continued for

some hours, the two parties found themselves so exhausted with fatigue as to be incapable of wielding their arms. If any of the vessels, however, attempted to gain the shore, the crew were insulted with the bitterest reproaches: "Do you wish to return to Athens by land?" said the Athenians to their soldiers; and, though covered with wounds, they drove them back into the sea. If a Syracusan, ready to be swallowed up by the waves, endeavoured to make towards the land, his countrymen cried out: "Save your life by jumping into one of the enemies' ships, or die gloriously defending your country." The combat lasted the whole day; the Athenians were beaten; and a shout of triumph from the Syracusan fleet, which was answered by other cries of joy from the land army, and the spectators on the walls, announced the victory.

No resource was left to the Athenians, but to endeavour to reach some town in alliance with them, where they might wait till succours should arrive from Athens, or vessels to convey them back. They began their march, but with the consternation of an army forced to abandon its ammunition and baggage, and uncertain of finding subsistence. Their despair was still increased by the sight of the dead and the dying, the former of whom fell a prey to the wild beasts, and the latter to the vengeance of their enemies. The sick and the wounded, clasping their comrades or

friends in their arms, conjured them, with tears, to carry them along with them. Others, feeble and languid, followed them as far as possible; and when their strength entirely failed, they implored the gods to avenge them for the cruelty with which they were abandoned. The air resounded with groans; and their route was marked out by the scattered bodies of the dead.

They were briskly pursued by the enemy, who allowed them scarcely a moment of rest. Having arrived at a river, they were so tormented with thirst that they threw themselves into it, without order or discipline. The Syracusans followed them, and made a dreadful slaughter. The two generals were taken. Nicias had never approved of this war. He had consented to it merely because he knew that, in a republic, it is dangerous to shew a will contrary to that of the people. He had not dared to make peace, nor to enter into a truce, though sensible of the necessity of doing so, because a republic renders its generals responsible for events; but, at any rate, he had conducted the operations of the war with prudence and humanity. The people of Syracuse, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the chief men in the city, condemned the Athenian and his colleague to be publicly scourged, and thrown from a precipice. The soldiers were shut up in the quarries, where they received such a scanty allowance of nourishment as, convinced them that they would soon

close their wretched existence; and, in their turn, infect with their putrid carcases the survivors, as they were infected by the bodies of those already dead.

Those desirous of knowing how far the cruelty of man may be extended, must read the account of Hannibal's expedition to Sicily. This general was the grand-son of Hamilcar, who had been killed before Himera, while coming to the relief of the people of Selinuntum. Their interests, however, were now changed. The inhabitants of Selinuntum refused to accede to an insidious accommodation, proposed to them by the Carthaginians; and it was on them that the latter began their devastation. They were invited to Sicily by the division of the inhabitants, which gave them reason to hope that they should be able to repair, by an abundant booty in that island, the losses they had sustained in their former war. On this account they gave the command to Hannibal, who had to avenge the death of his grand-father. He landed with three hundred thousand men, almost all Africans—barbarous and ferocious foldiers.

Second war
against the
Carthagi-
nians.

It was often the fate of the Sicilians to defend themselves as heroes, and yet to be conquered. This fate was experienced by the inhabitants of Selinuntum. They defended their walls, their streets, their public squares, and even their houses, but were every-where overpowered by numbers. About two thousand of them, under cover of the

night, retired to a neighbouring town, where they were kindly received, The rest were put to the sword : not a man of them escaped ; and the enemy set fire to the city. The soldiers had the inhumanity to throw the women and children into the flames. Some of them were seen with legs, arms, and other limbs, suspended from their girdles ; while others carried about bloody heads on the points of their lances :—horrid trophies of the most dreadful barbarity !

From the ruins of Selinuntum, Hannibal proceeded to Himera. The defence made here was no less obstinate ; but equally fruitless. The victory was attended with the same atrocities ; to which the general added the following refinement of cruelty and vengeance. He ordered three thousand Himerians to be conducted to the spot where his grand-father had been killed, and after exposing them to the insults of his barbarians, caused them to be inhumanly butchered. Crowned with these bloody laurels, he carried to Carthage an immense booty, which the tranquil inhabitants of that opulent city divided among themselves, without giving vent to a sigh of pity for the numberless evils they had occasioned.

Hermocrates.
Diocles.

The Syracusans sent aid to their neighbours thus attacked ; but too weak, and not in sufficient time to prevent their disasters. Besides, they were not unanimous among themselves. The inhabitants were divided into two factions ; and it appears, that,

as usual, one of them consisted of the rich, and the other of the poor. At the head of the former was Hermocrates, a man of merit ; who, after the defeat of the Athenians, had commanded against them, in Attica, the succours sent by the Syracusans to the relief of the Spartans, and had returned from that expedition with glory. The popular party was headed by Diocles, a man of severe manners, who was highly esteemed on account of his probity and wisdom. Before his time, the magistrates had been chosen by open vote, but he introduced the custom of electing them by private ballot :—a method more favourable to liberty, and better calculated to ensure a good choice. He caused a law to be passed also, by which it was enacted that whoever entered the general assembly armed, even though by mistake, should be put to death. An alarm being given at the gates of Syracuse, a report was spread that the enemy were close to the walls. Diocles armed himself to repel them ; and without reflecting passed through the fatal place. Some of the members observed to him that he had his sword by his side, and had violated the law : “ I shall punish myself for it,” replied he ; and immediately put an end to his existence. On account of this action, a statue was erected to his memory.

It is not exactly known when this event took place ; but about the same period he was an antagonist of Hermocrates, whom he caused to be banished on a suspicion of his affecting the sovereign

authority. His friends in vain remonstrated that his merit alone had induced some envious persons to incense the multitude against him. As they were not able to obtain his recall, they advised him to procure it by force: Hermocrates collected an army; but in consequence of its being too weak, he was defeated and killed. All his partisans, among whom was Dionysius, surnamed the Tyrant, were condemned to perpetual exile.

Agrigentum.

Allured by the hopes of more booty, the Carthaginians returned to Sicily, still with three hundred thousand men, raised in Africa, according to the historians, and attacked Agrigentum, the most opulent city of Sicily, next to Syracuse. The exploits of these hordes of barbarians thrown into this unfortunate island, and the circumstances which attended them, have all a resemblance to each other:—a defence more than human on the part of the besieged; the assailants successful by their multitude, and delighting in the cruel and horrid pleasure, if I may use the expression, of glutting themselves with human blood. The siege of Agrigentum was accompanied with some remarkable events. At the commencement of it, the inhabitants, during a sally, burnt the machines of the besiegers, and made a prodigious slaughter. The Carthaginians, to supply the place of their machines, demolished the tombs around the city, and with the materials of them raised terraces equal in height to the walls. The plague, which after-

wards broke out in their camp, might be supposed to have arisen from the putrid exhalation of the bodies they uncovered; but the soothsayers declared that it was a punishment from the gods for violating the repositories of the dead. The army offered up prayers; a child was sacrificed to Saturn; and to appease Neptune, several of the priests were thrown into the sea. This was violating, almost on the very spot, the law imposed by Gelo on the Carthaginians, that they should not make use of human sacrifices.

The plague was followed by a famine, from which the Carthaginians, after feeling its effects in a severe manner, were relieved by intercepting a convoy of corn destined for the Agrigentines. This scourge then fell upon the city; and the council, reduced to the alternative of perishing by hunger, or of going to find certain death in the enemy's camp, determined on a mean course, still painful, which was to abandon the place. As soon as this resolution was made public, cries of lamentation were heard to proceed from every house. Words can hardly express the melancholy and dejection into which the citizens were thrown. To lose in a moment the fruits of all their labours; their property, their riches, and their country; and to leave to the mercy of the cruel Carthaginians the aged, the sick, and the infirm, filled them with anguish and regret. Several who could not resolve to abandon their relations and friends, remained to pay them

the last tribute of affection, and to die along with them. Their dismal intention was soon accomplished. The Carthaginians spared neither age nor sex; not even those who had taken refuge in the temples. They found immense riches, a prodigious number of paintings, vases, and statues, the workmanship of the greatest masters, and every thing that can be imagined, in this city, one of the most opulent ever subjected to rapine, or even besieged.

Dionysius,
2600.

There were Syracusan troops in Agrigentum, who protected the departure of the voluntary exiles, and who accompanied some of them to Gelá, and others to Syracuse, where they met with a generous reception. They were admitted to participate in all the privileges of the citizens. This favour, however, did not prevent them from exclaiming loudly against the conduct of the Syracusan troops, and particularly of their generals, or principal officers, who, they said, had been gained over by the Carthaginians.

They were supported in their complaints by a young man named Dionysius. It is not known whether he was of an illustrious family, or of mean extraction. It is, however, probable that his birth was not absolutely obscure, since he is enumerated among the partisans of Hermocrates, and was even wounded in the battle fought by the latter at the gates of Syracuse. He was saved from capital punishment by a report being spread of his death, and was not again permitted to appear, but on account

of the siege of Agrigentum, in which he had a share. Dionysius distinguished himself in a very particular manner in the only important action which took place, under the walls of the city. He had fought for the unfortunate inhabitants, and he pleaded their cause. He not only blamed the generals, but he accused the magistrates of having suffered themselves to be bribed, and of keeping up a correspondence with the Carthaginians, in order that, by their assistance, they might be enabled to concentrate the sovereign authority in the magistracy, and to establish oligarchy, that is to say, the power of the few. What may not the people be made to believe, when their passions are flattered, and, in particular, that jealousy which naturally excites them against the rich ! Their minds were so much inflamed by the speech of Dionysius, that the commanders of the troops were immediately deposed, and others appointed in their stead, among whom was Dionysius, now as much the object of the people's love, as he had before been of hatred and persecution. His conduct exhibited, without any interludes, forms a kind of drama, the principal personage of which hurries on the events, and carries them rapidly forwards towards the conclusion in a very remarkable manner.

Dionysius, bold and eloquent, braved his colleagues; opposed them in the council; rendered their designs suspected; and shewed repugnance to serve with men who paid more attention to their

own private interest than to that of the public. He was apprehensive, he said, of their treachery, if he communicated to them his plans of attack and defence. On the other hand, he amused the people by his specious harangues, and won their affection so far, that the senate began to be afraid of his influence, and proposed to interdict him from speaking in public. There was a law which forbade those to harangue, who, after being condemned to pay a fine, had not discharged the debt. Dionysius was accused, therefore, as a disturber of the public peace, and subjected to so heavy a fine that he was unable to pay it; but a rich citizen paid it for him, and promised to do the same thing as often as there should be occasion.

Supported by this treasure, Dionysius renewed his harangues. As it was thought expedient to levy a body of troops to augment that which had returned from Agrigentum, in order to make a vigorous effort against the Carthaginians, a new tax was proposed on the people, to defray the expense. On this occasion, Dionysius said: "What need is there to bring troops from Italy and Peloponnesus, at a great expense, while we have countrymen, banished by the rich, who wish to be recalled, and who will be glad to purchase that happiness by gratuitous service?" This measure was approved; the exiles were recalled, and became so many partisans devoted to Dionysius.

Having learned that there were some commo-

tions in Gela, an important town, and fearing that the Carthaginians would take advantage of the discord of the citizens to get possession of it, Dionysius, always active, hastened thither with a considerable body of troops. He declared that the pretensions of the nobility were extravagant; put to death all those who opposed the multitude; and, becoming judge in his own cause, confiscated their property, distributed a great part of it among his soldiers, and promised them a double share of the rest. When he arrived at Syracuse, the people were coming out from the theatre, and all crowding around him, requested to know what were the news respecting the Carthaginians: “Carthaginians!” replied he, “Syracuse has enemies far more dangerous; your generals, your magistrates, who, instead of making preparations for your defense, amuse you with vain spectacles, and suffer your troops to be in want of necessities, while they employ the money for their own private use. I have long suspected the cause of this conduct; but, at present, I have more certain grounds than mere conjecture. Himilco, the Carthaginian general, under the pretence of an exchange of prisoners, sent to me an officer, whose real object was to beg that, if I did not choose to enter into the views of my colleagues, I would, at least, not examine their conduct too closely. I will no longer serve with traitors, and I now declare that I give in my resignation.”

The people having assembled next day, those most distinguished by their wisdom proposed to examine the denunciation of Dionysius against his colleagues ; but a voice cried out, that they might enter into that enquiry at a future period ; that the most urgent and most important business was to choose an able general to oppose the three hundred thousand Carthaginians, by whom they were threatened ; and that it was in a similar conjuncture that Gelo had been declared generalissimo. This example determined the multitude. Dionysius was proclaimed generalissimo, and he immediately caused double pay to be voted to the soldiers. Under the pretence of a secret expedition, he published an order requiring all the exiles and others who might choose to become volunteers to repair to Leontium, a town belonging to the Syracusans, together with provisions for thirty days. He proceeded thither himself at the head of the soldiers, whom he had enriched by double pay, and with this body encamped in a plain near the city. During the night, a great noise was heard around the tents ; Dionysius fled, as if in confusion, towards the city, crying out that an attempt had been made against his life ; he was followed by his soldiers ; the exiles and others who had assembled at Leontium, flocked around him, and they all declared that they ought, without delay, to provide for the safety of a man so valuable to the state. Six hundred guards being voted for his defense, he immediately chose a thou-

land; sent a message to the garrison left in Gela, who formed part of his first soldiers, to join him; and, preceded by this escort, entered Syracuse, took possession of the citadel, and having caused himself to be proclaimed king, at the age of twenty-five, condemned to death his principal adversaries, and concluded with a double marriage between himself and the daughter of Hermocrates, whose interests he had formerly supported at the price of his blood, and between his own sister and Polyxenus, the brother-in-law of Hermocrates.

Dionysius found it much more difficult to preserve royalty than to acquire it. The history of his life is sufficient to deter those who might be tempted to elevate a throne to their ambition, without reflecting that a thousand arms are always ready to shake it, and that the steps which conduct to it are always covered with blood. The first check which he experienced from the Carthaginians gave rise to a report that a secret understanding prevailed between them. The people, always fickle and inconstant, gave credit to this imputation, and uniting with his enemies, shut him up in a part of the city, where he had to sustain several attacks. By prolonging his defense, he gave time for the arrival of foreign troops to assist him; and the Carthaginians even seem to have favoured his views, by accepting peace. A new insurrection, however, threw him into such a cruel

state of embarrassment, that he deliberated with his friends, not whether he should put himself to death, but in what manner. One of them advised him to live to reign, and not to renounce the crown but with his life. This opinion was seconded by the arrival of a body of foreign troops, who forced their way to the place where he was blockaded. With this assistance he made a sally on the Syracusans, killed a great number of them, and took care to cause the dead to be interred. Every heart was affected by this act of religion. The arms, it may be said, dropped from the hands of the inhabitants; and for the greater security, he ordered them to be taken away. There was only one body of cavalry, composed as appears of the principal citizens, whom he was not able to gain over to his cause.

To occupy the attention of the people, Dionysius again declared war against the Carthaginians, who, on their part, put themselves in a formidable state of defense. He took from them the most important of all the towns they possessed in Sicily; but, notwithstanding this loss, they appeared before Syracuse, to which they laid siege. In the same manner as when before Agrigentum, they demolished the tombs, and made use of their ruins to favour their approach. As at Agrigentum, also, they were attacked by the plague; but they were, this time, convinced that it was occasioned by the infection of the bodies they had disinterred,

as well as of those which they had not had leisure to bury.

While the Carthaginians were thus perishing, Dionysius found himself exposed to the most urgent danger he had ever perhaps incurred. Having proceeded with a detachment from the fleet, in quest of provisions, the Syracusans during his absence gained some advantage. On his return, Dionysius called the people forth without the gates to congratulate them on their success, and promised to bring the war to a speedy conclusion, and to deliver them from all their enemies. "It is in your power," replied Theodorus, a very respectable citizen: "you have nothing to do but to resign your command, and to restore us to liberty; for even if you procure us victory, what purpose will it answer, but that of rendering us the slaves of a domestic tyrant? Should fortune declare for the Carthaginians, they will demand tribute from us, and suffer us to live according to their laws; but if Dionysius remains master, he will plunder our temples and houses; will seize on our lands, and sport with our lives, and every thing we hold dear. Let us get rid of an enemy whom we harbour in our bosom, before we think of repelling a foreign and much less dangerous foe. Having recently put to flight thousands of men, shall we now be afraid of one? We are possessed of arms, and against whom can we better employ them than against

“ a tyrant? If Dionysius consents to abdicate, let
“ us open our gates to him; if he refuses to resign
“ his usurped authority, let him experience what
“ can be effected by the love of liberty in generous
“ minds.” The assembly remained as if suspended
between hope and fear, and every eye was
fixed on Pharacidas, who commanded a body
of Lacedemonians sent to the relief of Syracuse.
Who could have thought that a Spartan would de-
clare against liberty? He, however, declared that he
had come to assist the Syracusans and Dionysius;
not to make war on the latter, and destroy his au-
thority. This declaration silenced the orator; the
tyrant’s guards arrived, and the assembly dispersed.

He had censors of his conduct, even in his own
family, whom in his vengeance he spared as little
as he did others. Polyxenus, the husband of his
sister Thesta, having been obliged to fly to Italy,
Dionysius reproached her because she had not
informed him of his intention: “ Do you believe
“ me then,” replied she, “ so base a wife, that had
“ I known of my husband’s design to escape, I
“ would not have done every thing in my power
“ to accompany him? I was not acquainted with
“ his design; but had he informed me of it, I
“ should have shared with him in his dangers
“ and misfortunes. I should have thought my-
“ self much happier to be called the wife of Po-
“ lyxenus the exile, than of Dionysius the tyrant.”

The Carthaginians, exhausted by the plague,

were obliged to raise the siege. Dionysius suffered them to retire unmolested, on condition of his receiving a large sum which was paid to him. With a view to give employment to the Syracusans, he turned his arms against Italy. Rhegium, a strong city, had excited his resentment by refusing to grant him one of its female citizens in marriage, and by adding to this refusal insulting language. The city withstood his attack, but was overcome by famine. Dionysius behaved to the inhabitants with his usual inhumanity; but it was particularly displayed in his treatment of their chief, who had defended himself with great bravery. He caused his son to be thrown into the sea. In regard to the father, he ordered him to be made fast to the extremity of one of the highest machines, and when in that state, to be told that his son had been drowned the preceding evening: "Well," said the unfortunate man, "my son has been happier than I by one day." He was untied, and led through the city, scourged with rods, and exposed to a thousand insults, while a herald walked before him, crying out, "Such is the punishment of the perfidious wretch who excited to war the inhabitants of Rhegium." "Say rather," exclaimed Phytos, "that I am thus treated because I would not betray my country into the hands of the tyrant." This spectacle, contrary to what Dionysius intended, produced a considerable effect on the soldiers; and,

for fear lest they should deliver the unhappy object of his vengeance, he caused him to be instantly thrown into the sea.

We are justified in observing, that no act of clemency escaped from Dionysius; but through interest. It would appear that inhumanity was natural to him. He did not, however, seem to take delight in punishments, like Phalaris, and many others; but he accounted the lives of men as nothing, and he gave orders for the death of an enemy, or man who had only excited his suspicion, the massacre of a troop, or the burning of a town, as if they had been common events, at which people ought not even to be astonished. But no one was more attached to life, if we may judge by the precautions which he took to preserve his own. He was so afraid of suffering the people to approach him, that he never harangued them but from the top of a tower. No person, not even his brothers or sons, was admitted into his presence without being searched; and he never went into the apartment of his women until every corner of it had been carefully examined. Besides locks and bolts, he was protected by a foss and a draw-bridge. The least noise in the streets, or in his palace, made him tremble. Those personal services, in regard to cleanliness, which he could not perform for himself, he required from his daughters, but only when they were children. So many precautions, if the account be not exag-

gerated, proves how miserable must be the life of him, who having done injury to all, has to dread all.

Such a state of terror is capable of poisoning the greatest pleasures. Dionysius proved this on one of his courtiers, named Damocles, who, charmed with the prosperity which the tyrant enjoyed—absolute power, riches, and magnificent palaces—was continually extolling his happiness. “Will you taste it for one day?” said Dionysius. Damocles having consented, was invited to dine at the table of the tyrant, and placed on a golden couch, covered with tapestry richly embroidered. The table was loaded with the most exquisite viands, and surrounded by slaves of uncommon beauty, magnificently clad, and attentive to serve the guests on the least signal. The courtier was overwhelmed with joy, and confessed he should think himself happy, if he could always depend on the same felicity. But at the moment when raised to the summit of enjoyment, amidst the voluptuousness of these pleasures, having observed a sword suspended over his head by a single hair, he became covered with a cold sweat, and every thing but the sword vanished from his sight. He earnestly begged that he might be permitted to retire; and declared that he would renounce for ever such pleasure.

The trial to which Damocles had been subjected evidently shews that Dionysius was not blind in regard to his own condition. He sometimes endeavoured to divert his attention from it, by the so-

ciety of men of genius ; but there was no depending on his favour. He invited to his court the celebrated Plato ; and on account of one word spoken by the philosopher which gave him offence, he caused him to be sold in the market as a slave. He imagined himself to be a great poet, and often recited verses with much condescension. Philoxenus, one of his courtiers, found by experience that it was dangerous not to applaud his talents. He had the boldness not only to listen to him with indifference, but even to criticise his composition. Dionysius sent him to the quarries, which were the public prison ; but on the intercession of his friends he pardoned him next morning, and to seal the reconciliation invited him to dinner. The tyrant, convinced that the critic, after the hint he had received, would be more circumspect, began to recite some of his verses. " What do you think of them ?" said he to his guest. Philoxenus, turning calmly round towards the slaves, replied : " Let me be carried back to the quarries." On this occasion, Dionysius laughed at his answer, and forgave him.

The love of poetry in Dionysius was not taste, it was passion. He contended for the prize at Athens ; and shewed more satisfaction when he gained it, than he ever had done on account of his greatest victories. He was indifferent in regard to no kind of glory. He was ambitious of being crowned at the Olympic games ; and vexation,

when disappointed, threw him, for some time, into a real state of melancholy. Some of his witticisms respecting the gods have been recorded. After an expedition, which had been attended with success, though he had plundered the temple of Proserpine, he said: "Behold how the immortal gods favour the sacrilegious." Having taken from the statue of Jupiter a cloak of massy gold, he observed: "It is too heavy for summer, and too cold for winter." Several of the statues of the gods held in their hands cups and crowns of gold: these Dionysius seized, saying: "I have only accepted what they offered. It would be very foolish to be continually importuning the gods for riches, and then to refuse when they stretch forth their hands to give them." These spoils being sold, according to his order, by public auction, he issued a proclamation next day, that all those who had in their possession any thing belonging to the immortal gods should immediately restore it; but he did not return the money, which occasioned a loss to those who had purchased.

Dionysius the tyrant died a natural death. He has been surnamed the elder, to distinguish him from his son Dionysius the younger, by whom he was succeeded. A firm and absolute king was followed by a prince weak and irresolute. He was courted by two cabals; one clothing itself with austerity and wisdom, the other presenting the allurements of pleasure. He at first yielded to the latter.

Dionysius
the younger.
er. D. 601.

Dionysius having escaped from the restraint, imposed on him by a gloomy father, abandoned himself without measure to the licentiousness of a dissolute life. Excess produced its own cure. Dion, the brother of Aristomache, the wife of Dionysius the elder, a disciple and friend of Plato, made the young prince ashamed of a conduct which was calculated to render him contemptible to his subjects. He induced him to banish the accomplices of his debaucheries, and advised him to recal Plato. The philosopher, forgetting the bad treatment he had experienced from his father, condescended to expose himself to the ingratitude of the son; but he soon repented of his compliance. Through insinuations, invented by that cabal of courtiers whom Dion had caused to be disgraced, he was himself disgraced in turn, and Plato was confined in the citadel. Some days after, he had permission to retire.

The system of every prevailing faction, which consists in carrying things to the utmost extremity, and rendering their partisans irreconcilable with their adversaries, was then seen to unfold itself. All Dion's friends were persecuted, and he himself would have experienced the like fate, had he not retired to Athens, to which he was followed by Plato. Dionysius pretended to be sorry for his unjust conduct towards the philosopher; and he employed his friends to endeavour to prevail on him to return. They held forth to him the flattering hope that he might be able to effect a reconciliation between Dion and Dionysius. Plato was not able

to resist this temptation. He accordingly returned; but when he began to speak of the kind of engagement which had been entered into with him, and of the recal of his friend, he found matters entirely changed. Dionysius had gained a victory, which prevented him from fearing his uncle, and Plato's intercession met with a bad reception. For the third time, he was not only banished from court, but exposed to the danger of losing his life.

His departure, permission for which he obtained with difficulty, was the signal for oppression of every kind in regard to Dion. He was refused the revenue arising from his property, which Dionysius, when he dismissed him, had promised to suffer him to enjoy; and he carried his outrage so far as to compel Arete, his wife, who was much beloved by her husband, to espouse Timocrates, one of his flatterers. All these provocations incensed Dion, who, perhaps, might have otherwise remained quiet at Athens with his friends. He collected a small band, composed of brave and resolute men, and arriving at Syracuse while Dionysius was engaged with the war in Italy, gave out that he had come, not to avenge his own private wrongs, but to emancipate Syracuse and Sicily from the yoke of the tyrant. Under this standard of liberty, Dion got possession of the greater part of the city. The citadel was guarded by the troops of the tyrant, who having returned, a battle took place between him and Dion, in which the latter was wounded, and

narrowly escaped falling into the hands of Dionysius. He was saved by the Syracusans; but they were soon disgusted with their hero, at the instigation of Heraclides, one of Dion's generals, who had found means to supplant him in the minds of the people. Heraclides attacked his commander, who, unwilling to defend himself against those he had delivered, chose rather to quit the city with his troops. Dionysius, on the other hand, had gone to Italy to procure succours, and left the citadel to the care of his son Apollocrates.

He endured there the utmost extremity of famine, waiting with patience for an opportunity of attacking the city. This opportunity soon occurred, by the divisions which prevailed in it. During the troubles, military discipline had been greatly relaxed, and a small victory, gained by the Syracusans, caused it to be almost entirely neglected. The garrison, taking advantage of a festival held by the conquerors, sallied forth from the citadel to the number of ten thousand, cut to pieces those whom they met, and spread the utmost terror among the inhabitants, who all then cried out—"Where is Dion?" Deputies were dispatched to beg him to return: it was now time; Nypsius who commanded the garrison had just made a successful attack. The streets and public squares were strewed with the bodies of the dead; and torrents of flames were rising from the houses. Behind this kind of rampart, the garrison, posted on a

breach made in the outer wall, which defended the citadel, were waiting with intrepidity for the assault. It was indeed terrible. After a long resistance, the garrison being obliged to retire within, the citadel capitulated, and Dion entered it at the head of his troops.

His sister Aristomache, who had been confined in it, came to meet him, together with his son, and his wife Arete, so cruelly torn from the object of her affection. The unfortunate woman stood trembling, and waited for her sentence. "How shall she embrace you," said Aristomache, when she presented her to her husband; "as your spouse? or shall she expire at your feet, without having voluntarily violated that fidelity which she swore to maintain?" Dion, bathed in tears, embraced her with great tenderness, placed her son in her arms, and conducted her to his house. He then delivered up the citadel to the Syracusans, and dismissed his guards.

He now began to think of forming a government for his fellow-citizens. According to his plan, the supreme authority was to be vested in a council, the members of which were to be chosen by the people and the nobility. This project was still impeded by Heraclides, who had deprived Dion once before of the public favour. Harassed by the obstacles which this man threw in the way of his designs, Dion permitted him to be put to death, and acknowledged the murder; but he afterwards

experienced regret and remorse, which threw him into a deep melancholy. He ascribed to the just vengeance of the gods the death of his son, who fell from the roof of a house, and was killed. He himself was punished for this homicide by a violent death, being assassinated, in his own house, by his guest and friend Calippus, who aspired at the sovereignty. It would appear that Dion did not deign to avoid this misfortune, of which he had previous notice. His severe virtue, perhaps, made him consider as a necessary expiation, the sacrifice of a life which he had stained by a crime. The assassin derived little advantage from his treachery. He was expelled by Syracuse, which he had for a moment subjected. He led a wandering and unfortunate life during some time, and was at length stabbed by two of Dion's partisans, with the same dagger which he had employed to assassinate his friend. The unfortunate Arete, first torn from the arms of a husband whom she loved—consigned to an involuntary marriage—restored to her husband—obliged to lament the fatal death of a son, and involved in mourning by that of her spouse, fell into the hands of Icetas, the tyrant of Leontium, another perfidious friend of Dion. To get rid of a useless widow, he sent her on board a vessel, giving orders that she should be put to death, and thrown into the sea, which was accordingly executed. How melancholy is the fate of some persons in the world!

The death of Dion, and the flight of Calippus, recalled Dionysius to Syracuse. The citizens opposed to him Ictas, already mentioned. They trusted that they should be able to employ the power and talents of the latter against the Carthaginians, who again threatened them; but they discovered that Ictas, abusing their confidence, had made a secret treaty with these people, by which they engaged to render him master of Syracuse. On his part, he promised not to oppose their conquests in Sicily. Alarmed at this treachery, the Syracusans sent to beg assistance at Corinth, from which they pretended to have derived their origin. The deputies were well received, and the Corinthians agreed to comply with their request.

There resided in the neighbourhood of Corinth a man named Timoleon, whose ardent zeal for liberty had induced him to commit an atrocious crime on his brother. This brother Timoleon had loved with the tenderest affection; he had even saved his life in a battle, but his country was still dearer. Having learned by too certain evidence that he aimed at the sovereignty of Corinth, and as all his efforts to prevent him from prosecuting his design were of no avail, he caused him to be put to death in his presence. The principal inhabitants praised this action as an admirable instance of heroism. Others condemned it as a detestable crime,

Timoleon:
2658.

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which deserved to call down the vengeance of the gods on him and his family. His mother, when he went to offer her consolation, loaded him with curses, and refused to see him. The despair of his mother filled him with horror, and considering himself as a criminal devoted to death, he resolved to abstain from all nourishment. His friends had great difficulty to divert him from this fatal resolution : but though he at length gave way to their entreaties, he condemned himself to pass the remainder of his days in solitude. He renounced public affairs ; withdrew from the city ; and for twenty years inhabited the most desert places, always a prey to the deepest melancholy. At the end of that period he returned to Corinth ; but he lived there as a plain individual, always retired, and without interfering in the government.

A plan was in agitation to deliver Syracuse from a tyrant, and perhaps to free many more of the cities of Sicily from those by whom they were governed. It was thought that no fitter person could be chosen for this expedition, than a man who had shewn so great aversion to tyranny. The Corinthians appointed him chief of the enterprize ; but with so few troops, that it appeared as if they had depended on him alone. At first, indeed, stratagem was of more service to him than force. He deceived the Carthaginians who blocked up his passage, and surprised Icetas, who flattered himself with the hopes of being able to retard his progress

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by delusive propofals. Icetas was master of the city; the Carthaginian admiral of the ports; and Dionyfius of the citadel. The laft being reduced to the utmoft extremity, Timoleon refolved to treat with him rather than with any of the reft. He fuffered him to carry away part of his treasures, and caufed him to be eforted to Corinth, which ferved him as an afylum. It is faid that he ruined himfelf with perfumers, comedians, and fingers; and that to procure fubfiftence he was obliged to open a fchool. Cicero afferts that he chofe this condition, that he might exercife, at leaft, over children, that tyranny which he could no longer exercife over men.

Timoleon, inftead of fhutting himfelf up in the citadel, left there four hundred Corinthians, under an able commander named Leon. He was clofely blockaded by Icetas and the Carthaginians united; but when the latter were expecting to overcome Leon by famine, he furprized one of the quarters of the city, where he made a vigorous defence. At the fame time Timoleon, having received a reinforcement, offered battle to the allies, and found means to debauch a part of their troops. The Carthaginian general, alarmed at this defection, went on board his veffels and fled. Icetas fufained in the city a kind of affault; that is to fay, his foldiers appeared on the ramparts, and abandoned them. He retired with them, and Timoleon took poffeffion of the place.

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Next morning he invited the inhabitants, by the sound of trumpet, to assemble with proper implements to demolish the citadel, and the other fortresses, which he called the *tyrant's nests*. They flocked thither in crowds, rased the walls, the palaces, and even the tombs, and every thing that could remind them of tyranny. On the site where they had stood, Timoleon caused to be erected public edifices, destined for the administration of justice. He then employed himself in repeopling Syracuse, which by the late troubles had been reduced to a most deplorable condition. The exiles returned. Some of them arrived from all parts of Sicily, Italy, and Greece. In concert with two legislators, who had been sent to Sicily by the Corinthians, Timoleon formed new laws, the basis of which was the democratic government, under the presidency of an annual magistrate.

After having as it may be said revived Syracuse, Timoleon overran the island as a conqueror, subdued the tyrants of several cities, and sent them to Corinth to be companions to Dionysius. His last exploit was the defeat of the Carthaginians, who again made their appearance in Sicily. If he was not able to expel them, he confined them to a part of the country where they were incapable of doing hurt to the Syracusans. Ictas, the murderer of the unfortunate Arete, the wife of Dion, did not escape the punishment due to his crimes. He was killed, together with his son; and his wife and

daughter were sacrificed by the Syracufans to the manes of Arete.

If the greater part of Timoleon's life was poisoned by the remembrance of his brother's death, he spent the last years of it in the enjoyment of the sweetest tranquillity. The Syracufans, as a mark of their gratitude for his services, gave him the most beautiful house in the city, and a magnificent country seat, to which he retired with his wife and children, whom he sent for to Corinth. It was there that he spent the remainder of his days, with the conscious happiness of having procured felicity to so many cities. In his old age he lost his sight, and this misfortune gave the Syracufans an opportunity of testifying their esteem and respect for his virtues. They paid him frequent visits, and introduced to him the strangers who passed through their city, in order that they might be gratified with the pleasure of beholding their benefactor and deliverer. In affairs of importance they never failed to consult him, and to follow his advice. He generally arrived in a car, and was conducted into the assembly amidst shouts of joy from all the people, who accompanied him even beyond the gates with the same acclamations. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of his funeral. The Syracufans destined a considerable sum to defray the expences of it; but the tears and benedictions with which all the citizens honoured his memory were the noblest ornament of the train. An order was issued that the

day of his death should be kept in remembrance by a solemn festival; and that every time Syracuse was at war with the barbarians it should request a general from Corinth.

Agathocles.
2652.

In a city composed of so many nations, it is more astonishing that the peace of Timoleon should have endured a considerable time, than to see it broken at the end of twenty years. This took place amidst the troubles excited by Agathocles, the most cruel tyrant under whom Syracuse ever groaned. He was the son of a potter; possessed extraordinary beauty, with a most elegant figure, and as he grew up acquired prodigious strength, to which his bravery was not inferior. No soldier could wield heavier arms; and no one was more enterprising when an opportunity offered. He gained the friendship and esteem of a rich Syracusan named Demas, who being elected chief of the Agrigentines did not forget his favourite: he gave him the command of a thousand men. He had, no doubt, been beheld with a favourable eye by the wife of his protector, since she married him after her husband's death, and put him in possession of a considerable property.

Syracuse was then subject to a tyrant named Sostistratus, to whom Demas had been an object of suspicion. As his successor gave him no less uneasiness, he attempted to get him assassinated; but Agathocles escaped by a stratagem, and went to try his fortune in some other country. He displayed

his ambitious views in two cities of Italy, from which he was expelled; and whether it was that Sofistratus pursued him to his places of retreat, or that chance opposed them to each other, they were engaged in a bloody battle, from which Agathocles came off conqueror. By a series of misfortunes, Sofistratus was driven from Syracuse, with seven hundred of the principal citizens, who were suspected of a design to substitute oligarchy in the room of democracy. Sofistratus was seconded by the Carthaginians who threatened Syracuse. A victory already obtained over him by Agathocles, determined the Syracusans to give the latter the command of their forces. He defeated the combined armies of Sofistratus and the Carthaginians, and received seven wounds in the combat. The credit, which so marked a devotion to the interests of the city gave him among the inhabitants, made him venture on a few acts of sovereignty; but the minds of the people not being sufficiently prepared, he lost the generalship, which was transferred to a Corinthian.

Measures were even concerted for destroying him, but he saved himself from a plot so well laid, that he was already believed to be dead. While the Syracusans placed great confidence in this report, he re-appeared under their walls at the head of a strong army, which he had collected in the heart of Sicily. A negotiation then took place, in consequence of which the inhabitants consented to

receive Agathocles if he would dismiss his troops, and promise to make no attempt against the democracy. He bound himself by a solemn oath to maintain the interests of the people. This was a kind of engagement against the senate, which consisted of six hundred of the principal citizens. Agathocles had made his soldiers disperse: but in such a manner that he could easily find them when he might have occasion for them. Under the pretence of a war with Erbita, a neighbouring city, he got himself appointed commander-in-chief. Being thus authorized to collect troops, Agathocles soon saw himself at the head of an army, after which he made no secret of his views.

“ Before you turn your arms against Erbita,” said he to his soldiers, “ you ought to think of delivering Syracuse from those six hundred tyrants, more dangerous than the inhabitants of Erbita and the Carthaginians. Syracuse will never be at peace while they are in life; and not only they but all their partisans.” This was authorizing his soldiers, who were almost all the dregs of the people, to massacre the whole body of the nobility. To encourage them, he devoted to pillage the property of those who should be killed. After this harangue, Agathocles having given the signal, the soldiers butchered every one they met, without distinction of rank, age, or sex. In a few hours, more than four thousand persons fell a sacrifice to their murderous blows.

To Agathocles all this, however, was insufficient. He wished not merely to exterminate the nobility, but to leave only a small number of citizens in easy circumstances, that he might govern them with greater facility. With this view, he ordered the pillage and massacre to be continued two days longer, after which he assembled those who had survived this butchery, and addressed them in the following words: "As the evil was great, the application of a violent remedy was necessary. My only object was to re-establish democracy, and to emancipate the city from the yoke of a few tyrannical magistrates. I now mean to live in tranquillity, and to retire." Most of those who heard him were accomplices in his cruelties, and they were perfectly sensible that they could not secure impunity but by entrusting the sovereign power to the first author of the massacre. They all, therefore, begged him to assume absolute authority, and proclaimed him king.

His first law was the abolition of debts, and an equal division of the lands between the poor and the rich. Thus the nobility found themselves on a level with the dregs of the people, whose firm attachment he by these means secured to his revolution. When it was fully accomplished, he became more just and humane, enacted wise laws, and maintained himself on the throne by the conquest of all Sicily, except the cities which belonged to the Carthaginians.

Though he respected the property of these strangers, their success gave him uneasiness. They sent against him an army, under the command of Hamilcar. It was joined by the malcontents and his private enemies, and gained over him a complete victory, which obliged him to confine himself within Syracuse. Reduced to this extremity, he conceived a project, which has been since imitated, but the whole honour of it belongs to him, as he was the first who devised it. He entrusted no one with his plan, and only exhorted the Syracusans to sustain the siege with patience, while he went in quest of assistance; and having embarked some of his best troops, made sail towards Africa, where he landed his army.

He was much embarrassed in regard to the ships which composed his fleet. To leave a body to guard them would have weakened his army, already too small for the project he intended; and to abandon them without defense would have been resigning them to the Carthaginians, already masters of the sea. In this dilemma, Agathocles formed a resolution worthy of such an exalted and enterprising genius—a resolution, which when executed, would deprive his soldiers of all hope, and force them to conquer or die. He assembled them, after making the officers acquainted with his design, and addressing them, said: “When we set out from Syracuse, closely pursued by the enemy, I made a
“vow to Ceres and Proserpine, the tutelary god-

“ deſies of Sicily, to burn all our ſhips if they
“ ſhould prevent us from falling into the hands of
“ the Carthaginians, and enable us to land ſafe in
“ Africa. Aid me, ſoldiers, to diſcharge my vow;
“ the deities will eaſily indemnify us for this ſa-
“ crifice.” He then hurled a lighted torch into
his own veſſel, and each captain did the ſame. The
flames burſt forth on every ſide; the trumpets
ſounded, and the whole ſhore re-echoed with ſhouts
of joy: but when ſober reflexion reſumed its em-
pire—when they began to think that they were ſe-
parated from their country by an immense ſea, in
a hostile land, and without any means of leaving
it, their tranſports of joy were ſucceeded by me-
lancholy and dejection. Agathocles endeavoured
to reanimate them by the view of the delightful
country they were about to traверſe; and above all,
by that of the great city, the ſuperb Carthage, the
ſpoils of which could not eſcape them.

The inhabitants were thrown into the greateſt
conſternation, and knew not what to think of this
ſudden irruption. Was Hamilcar beaten? Were his
troops annihilated? How had he ſuffered a whole
army to paſs without ſtriking a blow? While loſt in
conjectures, the Carthaginians diſpatched from the
city a conſiderably army, commanded by Bomilcar
and Hanno. Agathocles, whoſe intereſt it was to
come to an engagement, attacked them without
delay, and Hanno was killed in the action. Bo-
milcar carried off his wing without great loſs. He

was desirous of sparing his foldiers, that by their means he might get poffeffion of the fovereign authority, the way to which had been opened for him by the death of his rival Hanno. Agathocles was indebted for his victory only to the valour of his troops, whom he had animated by a religious omen. At the commencement of the battle, he fet at liberty fome owls which he had taken care to provide, and as thefe birds, confecrated to Minerva, could not fly far in the open day, they naturally perched on the bucklers of the foldiers, who were wonderfully encouraged by this mark of the protection of the goddefs.

Syracufe was ftill befieged, and even reduced to great extremity. Hamilcar, however, received feveral meffages defiring him to return fpeedily to the relief of his country. But before he would abandon a prey, which he flattered himfelf with the hope of being ready to fall into his hands, he determined to try what could be effected by ftragem. Some pieces of iron belonging to the Syracufan veffels, found in the afhes, having been fent to him, he tranfmitted them to Syracufe, as a proof of the entire defeat of the king. Many gave credit to this affertion, and a great part of the inhabitants propofed to furrender; but the contrary opinion prevailed. Thofe who even inclined to capitulate, were expelled to the number of eight hundred, and were all received by Hamilcar. Agathocles, on his fide, fent to Syracufe the head of Hanno; the fight

of which encouraged the inhabitants, and induced them to support with success a last assault. They afterwards made a sally; entirely routed the Carthaginian army; took Hamilcar prisoner, and, in their turn, sent his head to Agathocles. He was then encamped in front of the Carthaginians, who had procured reinforcements, but they were struck with great terror when they beheld this spectacle.

Agathocles attacked them in every manner possible. He seduced their allies, and excited enemies against them. He tried, above all, to gain over Opellas, king of the Cyreneans, who had an army of twenty thousand men well disciplined. The Syracusan gave him to understand, that as he possessed such a beautiful kingdom as Sicily, he was far from entertaining any idea of establishing himself at Carthage, and that he would ensure to him that throne, if he would unite his forces to his to destroy the insolent republic. Opellas suffered himself to be caught by this lure, and advanced with his troops in motion; but as soon as he arrived, Agathocles caused him to be put to death. This army, who were then without a chief, and at a distance from their own country, were obliged to submit to the assassin of their king.

As the war was prolonged, Agathocles, impelled by his activity, resolved to return to Sicily. He therefore gave the necessary orders, that nothing might suffer by his absence; embarked with him two thousand picked men, and arriving at Syra-

cuse, put in order the government; destroyed a league which had been formed between several cities of the island for the purpose of shaking off his authority, and set out once more for Africa. On his return he found his affairs in a very different state. His son Archagathus, with whom he left the command, had lost a battle; and the army being in want of provisions, the soldiers were ready to revolt. After a strict inquiry into every department, Agathocles, indifferent in regard to others provided he could save himself, seeing no other resource, determined to abandon his troops. His design being discovered, he was arrested by his soldiers; but a tumult soon after taking place, he embraced that favourable opportunity to make his escape and put to sea. The soldiers, in the first transport of their fury, massacred Archagathus, and another son whom Agathocles had left; elected chiefs for themselves; and concluded a peace, one of the principal conditions of which was, that the Carthaginians should transport them to Sicily, and assign to them Selinuntum as a habitation.

When Agathocles returned to Sicily, he attacked the Egestines who had revolted, took their city by assault, and put the inhabitants to the sword: the nobility were also executed, but not till they had been subjected to the most cruel tortures. The remainder of the life of this tyrant is only an assemblage of crimes. When he received an account of the tragical fate of his children in Africa,

he ordered his brother Antandrus, governor of Syracuse, to put to death all those connected, either by the ties of blood or friendship, with the Syracusans who had accompanied him in that expedition. The slaughter was dreadful. The streets were inundated with blood; and the waters of the sea close to the walls were tinged of a red colour. All the relations of the soldiers of Africa, from the great grand-father to the child at the breast, were massacred.

This act of barbarity alienated the minds of the whole people. The enemies of the tyrant, who were exceedingly numerous, assembled under the command of an exile named Dinocrates, who, by his vices, was an adversary worthy of Agathocles. The latter found himself compelled to sue for peace. He offered to resign the sovereignty to Dinocrates, on condition of his being allowed to retain only two fortresses, where he might live in the bosom of tranquillity. These proposals were however rejected. Assuming strength from despair, he then attacked the enemy in their camp, and dispersed them. A detached body had retired to an eminence, where they proposed to capitulate. Agathocles agreed to spare their lives, if they would surrender their arms; but as soon as they had given them up, he caused them to be surrounded; and all put to the sword. Dinocrates, being a man of his own stamp, was saved. Agathocles admitted him into favour, and employed him in his affairs.

After being king, the tyrant became pirate. He disdained no occupation provided it was lucrative. Having overrun all the coasts of Italy, where he found immense booty, he attacked the Lipari islands, the inhabitants of which led a peaceful life, without interfering in the affairs of their neighbours. He extorted from them a large sum, and when he found that the islanders had no more money, he plundered their temples, and carried away the sacred treasures, and all their ornaments. It is not improbable that he then proposed to enjoy in tranquillity the fruit of his crimes; but the vengeance of heaven awaited him, at the most brilliant moment of his prosperity. One Menon, whom he had treated with great cruelty, punished him in the following manner. Having remarked that Agathocles after dinner cleaned his teeth with a quill, Menon dipped it in a poison so subtle that it destroyed his teeth and gums. His whole body became one wound; and when suffering under the most dreadful torment, he was carried to his funeral pile, which was set on fire even while he was still alive. We are assured that during the last years of his life, he put to death more persons than all the tyrants who had preceded him. If he possessed any valuable qualities, they are entirely effaced by his barbarous cruelty.

Among the troops of Agathocles there was a body of Mamertines, that is to say invincible warriors, who on the king's death repaired to Messina,

with a view of embarking there to return to Campania, their country. The Messanians received them as friends; and these soldiers finding a country agreeable to their taste, a city commodious by its port, and proper for establishing a republic, put to death the men, and married the women. They then endeavoured to augment their power, while that of Syracuse was declining. From the hands of Agathocles, the government passed into those of Menon his murderer, who was expelled by Hycetas. The latter took the modest title of prætor. While absent on an expedition, for the purpose of again bringing the Agrigentines under the yoke, Tœnion deprived him of the sovereign authority, which was disputed with him by Sofistrates. Both these were chiefs of different factions; but being attacked by the Carthaginians, they in concert called in to their assistance Pyrrhus king of Epirus, who was then carrying on war against the Romans.

This prince was not sorry to leave a theatre where Pyrrhus. his glory, which had been some time flourishing, began to fade. When he arrived, Tœnion and Sofistrates put into his hands the army, with the public treasures, and the supreme authority. The people, for whom he had yet done nothing, received him with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. He won every heart by his insinuating conduct and great affability. By his vigorous measures he again subdued those cities which had thrown off the yoke,

and flattered the pride of the Syracusans. Every town which he re-united to the republic, was a new ornament added to their crown. Every tongue dwelt on his praise, but being more politic than condescending, he resolved, in order to deliver himself from the Carthaginians, to go and attack them in their own country. The Syracusans wished that he would first expel them from the whole island, and particularly Lilybæum, which still afforded them a convenient port. They were displeased at his attachment to his plan; but his preparations, in which he employed their men and their riches, gave them still greater offense. The other cities adopted the same ideas as the capital. In a little time, Pyrrhus found himself surrounded by malcontents, whose looks bore a threatening appearance. As he thought himself happy to quit Italy, where his affairs were in a tottering condition, on the invitation of the Sicilians, he readily embraced this opportunity of gratifying the wishes of the Italians, by which he was now recalled.

Hiero.
2738.

He left Sicily in a deplorable state of anarchy. The troops assumed the supreme authority, and appointed their own commanders, who by the circumstances of the moment became the chiefs of the republic. One of them, named Hiero, was of an illustrious birth by the father's side, but his mother had been a slave. Considerable care had been bestowed on his education, and he served his first campaign under Pyrrhus. A handsome figure,

a robust constitution, extraordinary strength, and the most signal bravery, with great judgement, mildness and application, procured him the notice and favour of that monarch; and he already enjoyed a distinguished reputation when the prince quitted Sicily. By the moderation which he shewed in the exercise of the command conferred upon him by the troops, he acquired the esteem of the citizens; and though they were displeased that the soldiers should arrogate to themselves the right of giving them a master, they confirmed their choice, and invested Hiero with the whole power, civil as well as military.

No one could reproach him, during the whole course of his life, but with one act of cruelty, which circumstances rendered perhaps necessary. A part of the army was composed of foreigners, who had neither respect for their commanders, nor attachment to the state, of which they formed no part, and who were always ready to revolt. They were so much united among themselves, that if any attempt had been made to correct the most guilty, their punishment would have irritated all the rest. It was, therefore, necessary either to endure every thing from them, or to get rid of them all at once. This Hiero found means to accomplish. In an action with the Mamertines, ferocious and resolute soldiers, he posted the foreigners in the front of his army, and placed himself with the Syracusans in the rear. The foreigners charged; the Mamertines

sustained the shock with their usual valour, and repulsed and pursued the assailants, who not being succoured by the Syracusans were cut to pieces.

Pyrrhus, on quitting Sicily, is said to have exclaimed: "What a noble field of battle we leave to the Carthaginians and the Romans!" These two people, indeed, converted it into an arena, where they contended for the empire of the world. Hiero wavered between them for some time; but he at length firmly attached himself to the Romans. The unfortunate defeats which they sustained at the lake Thrasymene, and at Cannæ, were not capable of shaking his constancy. He several times gave them an abundant supply of provisions, and transmitted to them in Italy donations of corn. Hiero possessed the art of giving, which is often more agreeable than the gift itself. Suspecting that the delicacy of the Romans might prevent them from accepting a considerable sum of money, of which they had need, he converted it into a golden victory, and presented it under that form. They received it as a valuable mark of friendship, and as a favorable omen, for which they returned him thanks. The Carthaginians themselves experienced his generosity during moments of scarcity; in a word, he sent money, furniture, and clothes, to the Rhodians, whose houses had been destroyed by an earthquake.

Historians speak of a galley which he caused to be constructed, with twenty banks of oars, and

containing every thing that could be wished for in a vast palace: three galleries, a hall of exercifes, walks, gardens, where the earth was watered by the means of leaden pipes, a library, baths, a large reservoir, eight towers either for attack or defence, a strong balista, besides external decorations, painting, gilding, sculpture, and ornaments inlaid with the most beautiful kinds of wood, executed by the greatest masters. This vessel was a present destined for Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. It was accompanied with sixty thousand bushels of corn, twenty thousand quintals of dried flesh, ten thousand large earthen vases, filled with salted fish, and an immense quantity of other provisions.

But this galley, however wonderful it might be, if fame has not exaggerated, does not equal the wonder of his having rendered the people of Syracuse tractable, and grateful for the tranquillity which he procured to them. Every germ of discord was suppressed by the prudence of Hiero. The soldiers and citizens considered him as their protector and father, rather than their sovereign. He endeavoured, in a particular manner, to render agriculture honourable, and did not disdain to write upon that subject. He died at the age of ninety, after a reign of fifty-four years, deeply regretted by his subjects as well as by foreigners.

Hiero at his death had a design to abolish royalty, because he foresaw the troubles which took place under his grand-son Hieronymus, a young

Hieronymus, 2789.

man of fifteen, who was to succeed him. But he was diverted from it by Dinocrates, his eldest daughter, the wife of Andranadorous, a Sicilian nobleman. This couple looked forwards with pleasure to a minority, during which they hoped to govern under the name of the nephew, until an opportunity might occur for mounting the throne themselves. Another of his daughters, Heraclea, was married to a man of distinction, named Zoippus, who was of a peaceable temper, and, as well as his spouse, void of all ambition. The old king appointed for his grand-son a council of fifteen persons, called tutors, to whom he recommended, among other things, never to abandon the alliance with the Romans.

This disposition was heard with great coolness in the assembly of the people, among whom two parties had already been formed, one of royalists, and the other of republicans; but the latter were satisfied with observing silence, and Hieronymus was proclaimed. Before many days had elapsed, the wise measures of Hiero were violated. His view in naming fifteen of the chief nobility tutors was to attach them to his grand-son, and to his power, which in some measure would be divided among them. But this partition did not suit Andranadorous: he wished to command alone. Under a pretence that the king was capable of conducting the government, he dismissed the council. These lords retired, and none remained at court but the

king's two uncles, and a parasite named Thrafo, who being well acquainted with the interests of the kingdom, professed to be a partisan of the Romans.

The young prince having no other check than the presence of men interested in flattering his passions, abandoned himself to debauchery; so that he soon became an object of contempt, as well as detestation. A conspiracy was formed against him; but the person by whom it was discovered could name none of the conspirators except one Theodotus. The latter being exposed to the rack, accused only the friends of the king, and particularly Thrafo, who was put to death without much examination. It is very remarkable, that the accomplices considered themselves so certain of the firmness of Theodotus, that while he was on the rack none of them thought it necessary to fly.

The death of Thrafo gave the Carthaginians a decided superiority in the council of Hieronymus, while the Romans endeavoured to draw closer the bonds of their ancient friendship. The young king, however, being informed of Hannibal's victories, considered them as lost, and not only refused to treat with them, but even accompanied his refusal with cutting raillery on the subject of their defeats. The Roman pride never forgave this insult; and the senate declared war against Hieronymus; but this was not his greatest misfortune. It appears that the Roman prætor who commanded in Sicily joined the conspirators,

whose names Theodotus had concealed, though suffering under the most cruel torment, and even Theodotus himself, who seems to have survived his torture. Whatever may have been the nature of this intrigue, Hieronymus was assassinated, while passing through a narrow street; and the people shewed so little concern for his person, that they suffered the body to rot in the place where it had fallen.

On the first report of this assassination, Andranodorus seized the strongest quarter of the city, while the people in the other quarters remained motionless with astonishment. The conspirators, at whose head was Theodotus, aroused them from this kind of stupor, by promising them the royal treasures. They then declared, on all sides, for the conspirators, and hastened in crowds to attack Andranodorus. A grave and prudent citizen having advised them to make some proposals, Andranodorus listened to them, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his wife, who reminded him of the celebrated saying of Dionysius the tyrant: that a sovereign should not descend from the throne, unless pulled from it by the heels. Andranodorus by submitting meant only to give way to the circumstances of the moment, till a more favourable opportunity should occur. He dismissed the soldiers, delivered up to the senate the treasures of his nephew, and after a congratulation to the conspirators, which ought never to have proceeded

from the mouth of an uncle, said to them : “ Do
“ not imagine that the glorious enterprize of re-
“ establishing liberty is accomplished. You have
“ only made a beginning. A licentious populace
“ are as dangerous in a republic as a tyrant.”

Andranadorus by his submission had the advantage of being among the number of the new magistrates elected by the people, together with Themistus, the husband of Harmonia, sister of the deceased king. Hippocrates and Epicydes, the agents of the Carthaginians, observing that in this change they had been looked on with an unfavourable eye, requested leave to retire under the protection of an escort. The senate, when it consented to their departure, neglected to fix the time. The Syracusans thus left among them two very able men, who were not only artful and political, but great generals, and well calculated to be the chiefs and the principal conductors of an intrigue.

It is not certain that they were the soul of the plot formed by Andranadorus, to enable him to ascend the throne ; but it is probable that he depended on their assistance. His wife Demarata was continually exciting him to assume the crown worn by his father : “ Every thing is quiet at Syracuse,” said she ; “ but the soldiers, accustomed
“ to receive pay from the king, are not yet dispersed, and have not yet adopted the republican
“ spirit. Two great generals, pupils of Hannibal,
“ are ready to put themselves at their head. What

“ do you wait for ? Why delay ? ” Andranadorus concerted his measures ; and secured the Iberian and African mercenaries, who were to exterminate the chief citizens of Syracuse, whose property was to become the reward of their assassins. He communicated these arrangements to Themistus, or formed them in concert with him ; but Themistus was so imprudent as to disclose them to a comedian named Aristo, and the latter went and told them to the senate. On his simple deposition, Andranadorus and Themistus were condemned, though absent, and put to death as they were entering the senate-house.

This murder, committed so precipitately, occasioned great noise. The people assembled around the senate house, asking who the criminals were, and of what crime they had been guilty. The bodies being thrown to them, Sopater, an orator of great vehemence, advancing, said : “ Those who
“ are the causes of our misfortunes are far more
“ criminal than Hieronymus, who was only a
“ child. I allude to his tutors, who reigned under his name, and who ought to have been destroyed with the tyrant. Impunity encouraged
“ them to commit new crimes. They carried their
“ audacity so far as to aspire at the sovereignty ;
“ but not being able to succeed by force, they
“ have employed treachery and hypocrisy. You
“ have evident proof of it. Though Andranadorus
“ has been named to the chief magistracy, among

“ the deliverers of his country, so distinguished a
“ favour has not been able to overcome his wicked
“ intentions. Their insuperable desire for reign-
“ ing has been inspired by their wives. These
“ furies are the causes of our calamities.” On
these words, they unanimously cried out that none
of them were worthy of life, and that it was ne-
cessary to extirpate entirely the race of tyrants.

Scarcely was this cruel sentence passed, when the
prætors, who ought to have endeavoured to prevent
the first effects of the people's fury, gave orders
that it should be carried into execution. Dema-
rate and Harmonia, princesses of the blood royal,
were massacred. The populace then hurried to
the house of Heraclea, the wife of Zoippus, the
only princess of the royal family who had engaged
in the conspiracy. Her husband, well known to
be a man of republican principles, had got himself
appointed ambassador to Egypt, that he might not
be a witness of the disorders which he foresaw.
His virtuous spouse led a most retired life, wholly
employed in the education of her two daughters.
Being informed that the crowd were approaching,
she withdrew to the remotest part of her habita-
tion, appropriated to the household gods, but this
sacred asylum did not restrain the assassins.

She appeared before them with her hair dishe-
velled, and her eyes bathed in tears. “ Unhappy
“ woman !” cried she, “ what have I done ? Am I
“ not myself the victim of that king whom you

“ have had so great cause to hate, and who separated me from my husband? What danger can be apprehended from me in the destitute state to which I am reduced? What can be feared from my unfortunate orphan daughters, without influence and without support? Banish me to Alexandria: permit me to go thither to join my husband.” She then threw herself at the feet of the assassins, and begged them to have pity on these innocent victims. Ferocious and inexorable, they plunged a poniard into her bosom while close to her daughters, who were besprinkled with her blood, and whom they instantly dispatched also. When they had breathed their last, an order arrived from the people to suspend the execution. As soon as they learned that it was too late, the Syracusans, after pitying the innocent Heraclea, were inspired with fury against the magistrates who had hastened the execution of this bloody sentence, without leaving the people time to be sensible of its injustice.

Siege of
Syracuse.

The horror excited by this murder established at Syracuse a kind of equilibrium between the party of the Romans and that of the Carthaginians. The former were furious republicans; the latter, favourers of royalty. Such indeed was the opinion conceived of them; but, at bottom, neither did the Romans give themselves any trouble to establish the popular government at Syracuse, nor did the Carthaginians care whether the govern-

ment was monarchical or aristocratic, provided they could rule with full authority to the exclusion of their adversaries. The Syracusans, imagining that these rivals took up arms on account of their quarrels, were in reality nothing but the tools and the sport of these ambitious nations. Had they been so prudent as not to abandon themselves more to the Carthaginians than to the Romans, they might have lived at peace, in perfect neutrality ; but Hippocrates and Epycides, those two able Carthaginians, whom they had neglected to send away as they requested, after the death of Hieronymus, formed a faction so powerful, that they were elected magistrates, and admitted into the senate. Afterwards, they threw the city into agitation by a thousand false reports : sometimes, that the Romans were attempting to enter it ; sometimes, that they were butchering those who had fled to their camp for shelter. Previous to all this, there had been some military expeditions, which enabled them to maintain a large body of troops, with whose assistance, partly by stratagem, and partly by force, they at length got possession of Syracuse. Not doubting that the consul Marcellus would soon come to besiege them, they expelled all the suspected persons, who formed the greater number. In regard to the people, who were soon gained over by a few largeesses, they proceeded to the nomination of new prætors, because the former had been killed during the tumult. Hippocrates and

Epycides caused the number to be reduced to two ; and found means to make the choice fall upon themselves. They then opened the prisons ; emancipated the slaves, whom they converted into soldiers ; and promised a favourable reception and reward to all deserters from the Roman troops, which procured them a great number.

Marcellus was at the gates. Before he commenced hostilities, he sent an embassy to the Syracusans to inform them that he had not come to deprive them of their liberty, but to deliver them from the oppression under which they groaned, and to avenge the death of their prætors, who had been inhumanly massacred. He declared that if they would allow their magistrates who had sought an asylum in his camp to return to their homes, and would deliver into his hands the authors of the last massacre, he would engage to abstain from every act of violence ; but that if they rejected demands so agreeable to justice, they should be treated as enemies. Hippocrates, who received the embassy, gave an ironical answer, and dismissed them.

The consul having besieged Syracuse both by sea and land, first attempted a general assault. The galleys proudly advanced, loaded with machines proper for discharging darts. Others, as high as the walls, were destined to convey soldiers to the summits of them ; but, to their great astonishment, an enormous stone, or rather rock, hurled from the ramparts, crushed to pieces the strongest of the

machines. An iron hook, advanced at the end of a beam, caught hold of a galley filled with men, raised it above the water, and suffered it to fall, by which means it sunk; then caught hold of another, and dashed it against the rocks. The soldiers approached the ramparts to avoid these machines; but others overwhelmed them with darts, stones, and masses of lead, without their being able to secure themselves against their effects, because the machines were placed behind the walls, and for the most part concealed from the view. They were the work of an able mathematician, named Archimedes. By the force of his genius, without employing the sword, one man had the glory, on this occasion, to repulse two Roman armies. It is difficult to form any idea of machines capable of discharging stones weighing more than half a ton, and of making them do execution at a great distance; of raising up galleys filled with soldiers; and of dispersing through the air a multitude of large arrows and heavy pikes, and making them hit the object at which they were directed. All these inventions seem to have been exaggerated; but however this may be, it is certain that they obliged Marcellus to raise the siege. He converted it into a blockade; undertook a few expeditions against some other towns of the island, which he subdued; gained a victory over the Carthaginians, who had sent to Sicily a strong army with elephants; and returned several months after to Syracuse, where

he still found Archimedes. "Shall we always," said he, "carry on war against that Briareus—that "giant with a hundred hands?" He was an enemy, indeed, by whom he was greatly embarrassed. As soon as the soldiers saw a cord, or a pole, appear above the walls, they imagined themselves already carried off, betook themselves to flight, and could not be brought back to the charge. Marcellus had attempted to open some communication with the city, in order that he might terminate, by negotiation, a siege which, with a few intervals, had continued two years; but his efforts were useless. The Roman deserters, those who had been concerned in acts of assassination, well knowing that they could hope for no pardon, restrained the people, however much they might be tired of their long captivity.

Marcellus was much assisted in his operations by a fortunate event. A soldier who had often occasion to pass before the wall, took it into his head to count the stones, and discovered that it was not so high as he had imagined. In consequence of his report, the consul ordered an escalade, which was attended with success. When he found himself within the outer wall, while receiving the congratulations of his officers on this event, he surveyed the unfortunate city with a kind of regret, and it is said even shed tears, on account of the dismal fate which its citizens, formerly so rich and so happy, were about to experience. It is but justice to al-

low this praise to Marcellus, that if he did not save the Syracufans from every misfortune, he at least exerted himself to diminish their sufferings. He could not refuse his soldiers the plunder of those parts of the city taken by assault; but he laid them under certain restrictions. Never was a city pillaged with less disorder, and so little cruelty. The soldiers entered the houses, seized gold, silver, furniture, and provisions, and every thing that suited them, without offering any violence to the persons of the inhabitants.

The Acradina, the strongest quarter of the city, was not yet taken. It contained, besides the choicest of the foreign troops, a great many Roman deserters. As the consul was unwilling to expose his soldiers to these desperadoes, he had once more recourse to a blockade. The plague which broke out made a dreadful havock among the besiegers, as well as the besieged. All these misfortunes induced the people to accept the favourable terms which were still proposed to them by the Romans; but those disposed for this measure were the weaker party. They were still obliged to submit to their sufferings; but they were at length ended by an assault, which was not attended with much bloodshed. The consul had gained over an officer, who gave up to him one of the gates. He therefore stopped the carnage at the commencement, and his humanity made him issue

an order that the Roman deserters should be suffered to escape.

Archimedes was in the Acradina, but being employed, it is said, in the demonstration of a mathematical problem, he did not hear the noise occasioned by the assault. As he continued to trace out his lines with tranquillity, a soldier appeared, and presented his sword to his breast: "Wait a moment, my friend," said Archimedes, "and my problem will be resolved." The soldier, astonished at his tranquillity, when exposed to so great danger, was desirous of conducting him to the consul. They accordingly set out, but Archimedes carried with him a box full of mathematical instruments. By the attachment which the geometrician shewed for this box, the soldier imagined that it was filled with gold, and instantly dispatched him. Marcellus, who was exceedingly grieved on account of this accident, caused him to be buried in a magnificent manner, and ordered a tomb to be erected to his memory.

The consul treated the Syracusans rather as allies than as enemies. He restored to them the right of electing their magistrates; put them in possession of their ancient privileges; exhorted them to peace and union; and repaired, as far as possible, their desolated city. Notwithstanding his indulgent kindness, he was accused, in a full senate, by those very Syracusans of having abused his authority towards

them. This was owing to a cabal of his enemies, who employed some of the citizens to pursue that measure, in order to mortify him. His justification was noble and simple. The Syracusans repented of this injustice, and decreed, that every time any of the family of Marcellus landed in Sicily, the people, crowned with garlands of flowers, should go out to meet them, and should celebrate that happy day by sacrifices. The whole island remained under the protection of Marcellus, and the Sicilians became the clients of that family.

After the taking of Syracuse, there still remained some cities to be brought under subjection. The Romans, who when they first landed in Sicily had required, as we may say, to be only tolerated, now made pretence to absolute authority, and inflicted severe punishment on those who opposed their will. Agrigentum having refused the yoke of these imperious masters, the consul Levinus besieged and took the city. The chiefs by his order were scourged and beheaded; the people were made slaves, and sold by public auction; and the money arising from the pillage of the place was conveyed to the treasury of the republic. After this terrible example, there was no more resistance, and Sicily was converted into a Roman province.

RHODES.

The island of Rhodes seen from the sea presents a delightful prospect—orchards, and vineyards,

Rhodes, in the Mediterranean, opposite to Caria and Lycia.

which produce excellent wine; a city, still beautiful, rising on a hill in the form of an amphitheatre, and below it a commodious harbour, defended by rocks fifty feet distant from each other, which served as a base to the famous colossus.

Colossus.

This colossus was a statue of copper erected in honour of Apollo and the sun, the tutelary deity of the island. It is said to have been a hundred and five feet in height, so that ships with their sails fully displayed could pass between its legs. Chares, the artist by whom it was made, was employed on it twelve years; but it remained standing only sixty. It was thrown down by an earthquake, and lay eight hundred and ninety-four years in the place where it had fallen. The person who broke it to pieces loaded nine hundred camels with it; and the weight of the copper, estimating at the rate of what each camel could carry, must have amounted to seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds. We shall leave to artists to examine how this enormous mass could be cast; how the different parts were joined; whether it was raised entire, and by what machines; how it was fixed on its bases; and what knowledge of statics was necessary to give it a perpendicular position, and such an equilibrium as to resist storms and all the efforts of nature, except earthquakes. We propose these researches the more readily as the labour will not be employed on a supposition, since the colossus really existed.

Religion.

We know nothing of the religion of the Rho-

dians, but one singularity. Every year they celebrated a festival, not with benedictions but imprecations ; so that if any person suffered a benevolent expression to escape, it was considered as a bad omen ; and it was then necessary to begin the ceremony again.

The first inhabitants came from Crete, seized Inhabitants. upon Caria, and established colonies, both on the continent and in the isles. They were the first people, it is said, who had any notions of astronomy ; and it is supposed that this knowledge was conveyed from them to the Egyptians. Rhodes was supplied with inhabitants also by those emigrations, which were consequences of the Trojan war.

The Rhodians applied at a very early period to Commerce. commerce and navigation. For several centuries they were the sovereigns of the sea. * Their laws, known under the name of the Rhodian laws, became a kind of code, according to which all disputes respecting maritime affairs were decided. They appeared to be so replete with wisdom that they were incorporated with the Roman laws, and were observed in all the maritime provinces of the empire.

The government, at first, was monarchical. We Government. have the names of several kings of Rhodes who reigned before the Trojan war, but no event worthy of being mentioned. After that period, we find a Cleobulus, who went in quest of wisdom to Egypt, and who is accounted one of the seven Gre-

cian fages ; a Cleobulina, his daughter, a very learned poetess, and a philosophical astrologer, to whom he left his crown ; Diagoras, a cotemporary of Pindar, who gained the prize at all the Olympic, Isthmian, Nemean, and Argian games, as well as his son, both celebrated by that poet, whom they liberally rewarded. Women were forbidden, on the pain of death, to approach the Olympic games.

2643.

Royalty was succeeded by the republican government : with the form we are unacquainted ; whether it was democratic or aristocratic, or a mixture of both : but whatever it may have been, there is reason to believe that it was analogous to the character of the Rhodians, because we find that they were always unanimous in peace as well as in war, and history gives us scarcely any reason to suspect that there ever were troubles among them. It was under the protection of this government that they carried on an immense trade ; had a formidable military navy ; repelled with glory the enemy from their ramparts, and rendered their republic, for some time, a rival to that of Rome.

Artemisia.

It may be necessary to withhold from the eulogy of the Rhodians what happened to them in regard to Artemisia, the queen of Caria, celebrated by the magnificent edifice which she raised to the memory of her husband Mausolus. Having been subdued by that prince, they avenged themselves on the widow, and ravaged her kingdom. Artemisia learned that they meant to attack Halicarnassus, the chief

city of her dominions. She, therefore, exhorted the inhabitants to post themselves on the walls, and when the enemy appeared to express, by acclamations and the clapping of hands, that they wished to surrender. The Rhodians, deceived by these demonstrations, went on shore, were admitted into the city, and left their vessels unguarded. Artemisia, who had placed herself in ambuscade, caused them to be manned by her foldiers, together with her own slaves, and proceeded towards Rhodes. The inhabitants, knowing their own vessels, and observing them crowned with flowers, entertained no doubt that Halicarnassus was taken, and that their countrymen had brought with them the plunder. They opened, therefore, their port, which the fleet entered, and the Carians made themselves masters of the city. Artemisia put to the sword the principal citizens, because they had been the authors of the expedition to Caria; and punished with death at Halicarnassus the stupid confidence of those who had suffered themselves to be deceived. The queen caused a trophy of her victory to be erected, together with two statues of bronze, one of which represented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemisia branding it with a hot iron. The Rhodians durst not destroy this monument, because it was consecrated; but they surrounded it with a wall, that they might at least conceal their shame, if they could not efface the vestiges of it. Rhodes became free by the aid of the Athenians,

whom it however offended ; but when these people were deliberating on the demand of the inhabitants, Demosthenes reminded his countrymen of those noble maxims which had raised them to their highest glory—"to forget injuries, to pardon rebels, " and undertake the defense of the unfortunate."

Siege of
Rhod s.
2698.

One of the most celebrated events in regard to ancient Rhodes, is the siege it sustained against Demetrius, the son of Antigonus. It had not, however, deserved the indignation of that prince. Its whole crime was, that it wished to remain neuter between him and Ptolemy king of Egypt. When Demetrius compelled it to make a choice, it did not hesitate to declare for its ancient ally, which drew upon it the formidable forces of Antigonus, commanded by his son Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, or the Taker of Cities. So much did a persuasion prevail that Rhodes would not escape him, that his fleet, having on board forty thousand soldiers, was followed as far as the eye could reach by private ships of war, slave merchants, and all those infamous agents of traffic who are attached to a victorious army.

The Rhodians pursued prudent measures to sustain the siege. When the citizens were numbered, there were found to be only seven thousand men capable of bearing arms ; but they promised liberty to such of their slaves as should perform noble actions, and the city engaged to indemnify their masters for those who should be killed or emancipated. It was declared also that the republic would cause

to be honourably interred those who might fall in battle, and that it would provide for the maintenance of their parents, wives, and children; that it would give portions to their daughters; and that when their children attained to the age of manhood they should receive, at the grand festival of Bacchus, a crown and a complete suit of armour.

So many encouragements, both of interest and glory, inspired all orders in the city with the most invincible ardour. The rich went in crowds with money to defray the expenses of the siege; and they supplied the artificers and engineers with timber for the machines, and metals proper for making arms. It was chiefly by his inventive genius that Demetrius rendered himself formidable in sieges. The Rhodians opposed to him no less skill and industry. In regard to assaults, close combat on the ramparts and in the mines, if the soldiers of Demetrius had sometimes the advantage, they were speedily repulsed; and at the end of a year this prince thought himself happy to find a pretence for raising the siege without dishonour. When he departed he made a present of his machines to the Rhodians. With the money which they produced they purchased the copper employed in forming their colossus.

Protogenes, a celebrated painter, had resided in the suburbs without the city at the time it was besieged by Demetrius. As the presence of the enemy and the noise of the arms, which continually

resounded in his ears, had neither interrupted his labour nor made him quit his habitation, the king, surprized at this tranquillity, asked him the reason. The answer of Protogenes is worthy of being made known to princes: "It is," said he, "because I am persuaded that you have declared war against the Rhodians, and not against the arts."

The earthquake which overturned the colossus occasioned a general contribution for the relief of the Rhodians. They received letters from all quarters, and the articles sent to them may serve to make known what were the productions and riches of each country. The king of Egypt gave them money, a million measures of wheat, and materials for building twenty galleys with five banks of oars, and as many with three. He sent also a hundred masons and three hundred workmen, with a promise that he would pay them as long as their services might be necessary. Antigonus furnished them with money, ten thousand logs of timber, each sixteen cubits long; seven thousand planks, three thousand pounds of iron, as many of rosin, and a thousand measures of pitch. A lady, named Chryseis, sent a thousand measures of wheat, and three thousand pounds of lead. Antiochus, ten galleys, two hundred thousand measures of wheat, and various other articles of great value. Prusias, Mithridates, and the other kings of Asia, the nations of Greece, and the

princes of Europe, all displayed their generosity on this occasion ; and the least present was that of the monarchs who exempted from the payment of duty all the merchandize which their subjects might transport to Rhodes. Never was any contribution more abundant. The motive of it was the re-establishment of the colossus, which being a religious act excited their liberality ; but the Rhodians left the idol lying on the ground, and appropriated to their own use the offerings.

On account of a war with Philip king of Macedonia, the Rhodians made an alliance with the Romans. They treated as on an equal footing, and their ambassadors were received with deference by the senate. This union gave them great preponderance in regard to the neighbouring states ; their success inspired them with pride, and they spoke in haughty terms, not only to the republics of Greece their equals, but even to the greatest kings. The eminent services which they rendered to the Romans in several naval battles, induced them to think that the republic could not confer too great a reward on their fidelity ; but they found in Eumenes king of Pergamus a competitor whose pretensions were better received.

Both parties, after the defeat of Antiochus, requested from the Romans some states convenient for them which had belonged to that prince. Eumenes got the best share, to the great regret of the Rhodians, who obtained only Lycia. These

Quarrel
with the
Romans,
2825.

republicans, though they idolized liberty, behaved with the most oppressive severity to their new subjects the Lycians, who complained to the Romans, and were taken under their protection. The senate wrote to the Rhodians a letter couched in the language of superiority; but these islanders, finding their pride wounded, treated their subjects still worse. The Lycians revolted, and were subdued. From severity their masters proceeded to cruelty. The oppressed people had again recourse to Rome, which sent commissioners invested with full powers to terminate the difference. They were not received with the usual marks of affection; but the Rhodians gave way, and the Lycians were better treated.

It would not be astonishing if the conduct of the Romans, in some respect imperious, had offended the Rhodians, and if the latter wished success to their enemies, and entertained a secret desire of seeing these proud republicans humbled. While in this disposition, perhaps, they shewed an attachment to Perseus, with whom the Romans were then at war. They were obliged to justify themselves on this suspicion in a full senate; but they did it in such a fullen manner that they lost the whole prize for which they contended. The senate, by way of answer, caused to be read in their presence the decree which deprived them of Lycia. During the first moments of their wounded pride, the Rhodians declared themselves neuter between

the Romans and Perseus, and recalled their ships which they had in the Roman fleet ; but that they might not come to an open rupture, they sent ambassadors to Rome to exhort the senate to peace.

Unfortunately, however, they arrived at the time when intelligence had been received of the complete defeat of Perseus. They attempted to speak : “ Go,” said the consul to them, “ perfidious messengers, and tell your republic that its care for the interests of Perseus is no longer in season.” The time was now come for the Rhodians to assume an air of humility. Astymedes, the chief of the embassy, did so in a manner which must have been exceedingly painful. He confessed that vanity was the prevailing feature in the character of his countrymen. “ But would you consider,” added he, “ this national mark of imperfection as a crime which cannot be expiated but by the total ruin of our country ?” He then spoke of the services which the Rhodians had rendered to the republic : “ If they have ceased,” said he, “ to assist the Romans, they have never committed actual hostilities against them. In a word, I declare that we will entirely submit to the will of Rome, and that we have resolved to make no resistance if we are attacked.” When the business was brought to the vote, a great number were of opinion that war ought to be declared against the Rhodians. Cato, however, spoke as follows : “ Ye immortal Gods !

“ must we then usurp your rights? Must we pene-
“ trate into the hearts of men to find enemies?
“ In my opinion, the defeat and captivity of
“ Perseus have been a real punishment to the
“ Rhodians. I will even add, that their compas-
“ sion arose from interested motives; but when
“ were people forbidden to be fond of their li-
“ berty? Rome is a formidable power, capable of
“ subduing the whole East. Macedonia, already
“ reduced to obedience, is no longer able to with-
“ stand her arms. Needs it excite astonishment
“ that neighbouring danger should create violent
“ alarm? Do you imagine that the Rhodians hate
“ you?—No. But they love themselves. Is there
“ any one among us who can behold with a fa-
“ vourable eye a formidable neighbour? What
“ would we not do to remove him to a distance?
“ All means, in such a conjuncture, violence ex-
“ cepted, are lawful; and this is exactly the case
“ of the Rhodians. They wished that Perseus
“ might not be ruined, and that the barrier which
“ separated us from them might be suffered to
“ exist. Can this be accounted a crime? Besides,
“ ought mere wishes to be punished? But it may
“ be said that the pride of the Rhodians was dis-
“ played in their speech; and indeed one of their
“ ambassadors made use of a few arrogant expres-
“ sions. What can be thence inferred, but that
“ these are a people still haughtier and more im-
“ perious than we? Is an inconsiderate expression

“ a crime which can be expiated only by rivers of
“ blood? What can we expect in return for unjust
“ severity, but sentiments of hatred, or at least of
“ distrust on the part of our enemies? Foreign
“ nations will fear us more, but we shall be less
“ beloved. And after all, the Rhodians have not
“ carried their ingratitude so very far. Perseus,
“ at the time of his greatest splendour, was not
“ able to induce them to take up arms against us.
“ I am of opinion, therefore, that we ought to
“ leave the Rhodians in possession of their island.”

This opinion was adopted. No more thoughts were entertained of war; and the senate only required that those who had shewn themselves partisans of Perseus might be banished, which was accordingly done. This condescendence disarmed the senate, and the Rhodians were declared allies of the Romans.

After this period, Rhodes was treated by Rome as her sister, but as a younger sister, from whom the eldest received marks of respect as a debt. Rhodes found itself engaged in the Carian war without being able, before the commencement of hostilities, to ask the consent of Rome. Having proved victorious, it sent deputies to lay its laurels at the feet of the senators as a token of homage, and as an excuse for having conquered without their permission. The senate deigned to order thanks to be returned to them for this deference. Rhodes redoubled its respectful attention, begging

that it might be permitted to place in the temple of Minerva, at Rome, a statue of that goddess thirty cubits in height. It would appear that the dignity of the offering was estimated by the height. This favour was granted, together with the restitution of Lycia, which the Roman republic had taken from its sister when displeased at her conduct.

2911.

The Romans considered themselves in Rhodes as at home. They assembled there when expelled from Asia by Mithridates king of Pontus. This prince might have got into his hands many illustrious prisoners, had he been able to force the island to surrender, when he laid siege to it; but he met with an obstinate resistance, both from the inhabitants and the refugees, who all fought as for their common country.

This kind of fraternity was destructive to the Rhodians, as it did not allow them to be neuter during the domestic troubles of their allies. They declared for Pompey, and afterwards for Cæsar; defended themselves with courage against Cassius, his murderer; fought two battles, and lost in them the greater part of their ships. The city was given up by treachery to Cassius, who stripped it of its ornaments, caused the principal inhabitants to be put to death, and exacted from it very heavy contributions. Marc Anthony restored its privileges, and annexed to its dominion several of the adjacent islands; but the Rhodeans, those zealous

friends of liberty, oppressed all these countries so much with taxes, that the dictator was obliged to take them back. Vespasian imposed a tribute on Rhodes, which, from being a sovereign, became only the capital of the islands subject to Rome in the Mediterranean. We shall see in the course of this work that it recovered its independence, of which it was afterwards deprived by the Ottoman power.

CRETE.

Crete, at present called Candia, is one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean, and much longer than it is broad. It is said to be about two hundred leagues in circumference. It is well watered, and produces excellent wine. The soil is fertile and the air salubrious. This island was covered formerly with a hundred cities, the vestiges of which still exhibit remarkable curiosities, though the greater part were carried away by the Venetians, when they had it in their possession. There are still seen fragments of fluted columns of granite, eighteen feet in circumference, master-pieces of art, which it would now be difficult to imitate. The principal mountain is Ida, from which the surrounding sea may be seen on both sides.

Crete or Candia, the first island of the Archipelago towards the south-east.

On this and the neighbouring mountains lived the Dactyli, who taught the use of fire; the method of fusing copper and iron, and of working these metals; together with poetry, music, and

Inhabitants.

sacred ceremonies. They inhabited caverns in the mountains, or resided under large trees; and these people, so skilful in things of less use, were unacquainted with the art of building houses. It was, no doubt, when they attained to this industry that they united men in society; that they instructed them how to manage flocks, to break horses, to hunt, to dance, to form swords and helmets, and to do many other things ascribed to the Curetes. The Titans, another indigenous race, were no less useful to mankind. Instead of making them fight against the gods, the Cretans derived from them their deities, Saturn, Jupiter, Neptune, Rhea, Thetis, Mnemosyne, Latona, and Ceres; and they considered Minos, the first legislator of Greece, as descended from these deities.

We know, or think we know, the names of the ancient Cretan kings, even as far back as Minos. This prince was the first who equipped a fleet, and made himself formidable at sea; but he is indebted for his chief reputation to his laws, which served as a model for those of Lacedemon established by Lycurgus. We there find eating in public, respect for the aged, punishment denounced against luxury and idleness, military exercises, severe life recommended in infancy, and political conversation of old men after their public banquets. All Spartan laws.

Another, imitated by the Romans, was the obligation imposed on masters to serve their slaves

during some holidays, instituted for that purpose. Another establishment of Minos, admired by Plato, consisted in inspiring young people, at an early age, with a great respect for the maxims, customs, and laws, of their country, and in forbidding them to question or ever doubt the wisdom of their institutions, because they ought to consider them not as prescribed by men, but as dictated by the gods themselves; and as laws, which if carefully observed, would greatly contribute to public tranquillity. Minos, that great legislator, is the same who imposed on the Athenians the cruel tribute of seven boys, and as many girls, whom he caused to be devoured by the minotaur, a monster half man and half bull. This barbarity, if credible, might induce us to believe, that those who make laws for others have sometimes need that others should make laws for them.

The fable of Pasiphae, enamoured of a bull, is reduced according to history to a libertine princess, who abandoned herself to one of her husband's courtiers named Taurus. The labyrinth, Dædalus and Icarus who extricated themselves from its winding passages by means of wings, that is to say, the sails of a ship, are the embellishments of this history. It is to be observed, that the Cretans who possessed such noble laws, became afterwards the most licentious of men; and the name of Cretan given to any one, as allusive to morals, was an insult.

Deucalion, the son and successor of Minos, was the father of Phædra, whose incestuous love for Hippolytus her son-in-law has been represented with so much interest on the French theatre. Idomeneus, who killed his eldest son to discharge a vow, and who was brought back to wisdom by the lessons of Mentor within the walls of Salentum, furnished an instructive episode to the author of Telemachus. Some tragic poet also might excite our pity for the fate of the unfortunate Phronima, calumniated by her mother-in-law, and condemned by Etearchus her father, the last king of Crete, to perish in the waves, from which this princess escaped only to lead a life unworthy of her rank.

Republic.

The monarchical form of government was succeeded by the republican; but we neither know when nor on what occasion. The sovereign power was vested in a senate composed of thirty members. Its decisions, however, did not acquire the force of laws until confirmed by the suffrages of the people. They were chosen in the same manner as the ephori at Sparta, from the body of the people, and even the lowest of that class might be elected. From these were appointed the senators, who were responsible for nothing while *cosmi*; but who became responsible as soon as they took their seats in the senate. A proper balance was preserved between these magistracies. It is not known how long they existed; whether

they were established in each city, nor what was the bond which united the cities to form them into a body politic.

It appears, that after the abolition of monarchy there never was a federative union among the Cretans. Their great dexterity in the use of the bow and the sling is ascribed to the perpetual wars in which they were involved with each other. There were few belligerent powers which did not endeavour to engage in their service Cretan archers and slingers. A proof that they had no union among themselves as a nation is, that we do not find they ever had a national war with the other islanders in the neighbourhood; and that when they went beyond the limits of their own isle, either to defend themselves or to attack others, it was only with single ships, and not a fleet, as becomes a people connected by one common interest.

The Cretans preferred piratical wars to all others. They infested the Mediterranean, and interrupted the navigation even on the coasts of Italy. This conduct supplied the Romans with a specious pretext for attacking Crete, which had always been perfectly independent. But the true reason of the senate was the situation of the island, being exceedingly convenient for the Romans in the time of war, whether they carried it on in Europe, Asia, or Africa. They changed its government, subjected it to tribute, and converted it

into a Roman province. The Ottomans, who in almost all the islands of these seas succeeded the Romans, as the latter did the Greeks, have become masters of Candia, which they tore from the Venetians, but not without difficulty, as will be seen hereafter.

CYPRUS.

Cyprus, opposite to the coast of Cilicia.

Cyprus, where Venus, formed of the foam of the sea, landed on a marine shell, accompanied by Love and the graces, was favoured also by Bacchus. It produced formerly, and still produces, excellent wine, honey, oil, and a sufficient quantity of corn. The copper of Cyprus was highly esteemed. It was fused accidentally, when the inhabitants set fire to the forests, in order that they might render the land fit for cultivation.

Inhabitants.
Government.

It is supposed to have been first discovered by the Phœnicians, who established in it a colony by whom it was peopled. Various nations, Athenians, Macedonians, Arcadians, and even Ethiopians, settled in it, and introduced the manners of their different countries. This mixture did not tend to render them pure; and whether it arose from a confusion of habits and principles, or from the remembrance of Venus, their tutelary goddess, the Cyprian ladies were remarkable for their gallantry. Pygmalion, it is said, having arrived in Cyprus—but from what country, or on what account, we are not told—was so displeased with the behaviour

of the women, that he resolved never to marry. As he was an excellent sculptor, he amused himself with making an ivory statue; which was so beautiful, that he became enamoured of it. He then resolved to marry, if Venus would procure a female as handsome as his statue. The goddess gave animation to the statue itself, which brought Pygmalion a son, who was the first king of Cyprus. After that period the government was always monarchical, but the island was divided into several kingdoms, so that each city almost had its own king. Sometimes, but very seldom, these kingdoms were united, and formed one monarchy, which was afterwards dismembered. It was easy for the neighbouring nations to subdue each part separately. The Persians, as appears, were the people who profited most by this division. They ruled there without interruption, till a king of Salamis, named Onesilus, formed a confederation of all the kings of the island, who before had been as it were vassals to the Persians; and at the head of those united forces made himself formidable to the oppressors.

Being betrayed and deserted by two of the kings, his colleagues, he was killed in a battle. His successors bore with patience the Persian yoke, but under the protection of the Greeks, who abandoned them altogether at the peace of Antalcidas.

At that time there were nine kings in the

island. Evagoras II. tired of being tributary to the Persians, and supported by the great riches he had amassed, raised a strong army and equipped a fleet; but, though powerfully assisted by the Athenians, could not obtain peace till he returned to his former dependance. Under the successors of Alexander, Cyprus passed from Antigonus to the kings of Egypt. Nicocles, one of the petty kings of Cyprus, having become suspected by the Egyptian monarch, the latter sent assassins to Cyprus, who surrounded Nicocles in such a manner, that, seeing no means of escaping, he dispatched himself. Axiatheia, his wife, when informed of her husband's fate, killed her daughters with her own hands, and afterwards stabbed herself with a poniard. When the account of this massacre was spread abroad, the brothers of Nicocles were so much affected with grief, that each of them set fire to his palace, and perished in the flames with his family.

It might be expected that the Roman republic would at length swallow up the island of Cyprus, but it was not by conquest. It judged proper to employ rather the right of succession, whether well or ill founded. An Alexander, driven from the throne of Egypt which he had usurped, retired to the island of Cyprus, as it formed a part of the Egyptian dominions, but was expelled from it by the Ptolemys, two brothers, one of whom assumed the sceptre of Cyprus, and the other that of Egypt.

Alexander, thus stripped of his territories, in order that he might be revenged, made the Romans his heirs when he died. According to every appearance the moment was not then favourable for using the right given to them by this testamentary disposition; for they left the Ptolemys at peace, each on his throne, and even made an alliance with them; but the Cyprian Ptolemy having been so imprudent as to refuse money to the tribune Clodius on an urgent occasion, the Roman magistrate thought proper to revive the testamentary right, which was then almost forgotten. When he presented it to the people he took care to make known, that the riches to be shared would amount to a very large sum. This was a powerful consideration with the citizens of Rome, who lived on the spoils of other nations. It appeared to them extremely just, that Cyprus, an island so opulent, should belong to the republic. Thus, though Ptolemy, then on the throne, was acknowledged a friend and an ally of Rome—though he had done nothing that could incur the hatred of the imperious republic, the kingdom of that prince was declared by a decree of the senate to belong to the Roman people.

Clodius gained three advantages by this decree: first, to avenge himself; secondly, to please the people, whose support he found necessary; and in the third place, to get Cato removed to a distance, as his presence was injurious to his ambitious de-

signs. Unknown to Cato, the prætor got him appointed to this department, and went himself to announce to him the decision of the senate in the following words: "Vice predominates in Cyprus, and it even stains the throne. Rome has made choice of a man of irreproachable conduct to re-establish there the empire of virtue. Go then, Cato, and make the purity of the Roman laws be respected in an island disgraced by the most depraved morals." Cato, perceiving the snare laid for him, replied: "Our country is exposed to misfortunes still greater. It is impossible for me to desert it." "Since you refuse the solicitations of your friends," returned Clodius, "we must employ force." He immediately caused the senate to be assembled, and Cato received orders to depart without delay, and to proceed to Cyprus to dethrone the king.

Without an army, and without guards, Cato went on board the first vessel he could find; and, having landed at Rhodes, wrote a letter to the weak king, exhorting him to retire in peace, and offering him as an indemnification for the loss of his crown the high priesthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were considerable. The monarch, frightened at the very idea of a war with the Romans, embarked with all his riches and set sail, intending to sink the vessel, and to perish with his wealth. He, however, repented of his design, returned on shore,

and having carefully put his darling riches in his treasury, swallowed poison. Cato took possession of the island in the name of the republic, and seized for its account the king's treasures, which amounted to above a million sterling.

As soon as the tribuneship of Clodius had expired, Cicero proposed to annul all the decrees passed during his magistracy. This was opposed by Cato, because in that case it would have been necessary to restore to the Cyprians the treasures carried away from their island. Thus Cato, though a man of such rigid virtue, thought, like an avaricious republican, that in order to preserve the money these islanders ought still to be deprived of their liberty.

SAMOS.

Samos is about thirty leagues in circumference; the soil is fertile, and the air salubrious. The earthen-ware made here formerly was in great request. This island contains ruins, which attest the beauty of some of its cities, and particularly Samos the capital. Near it stood a superb temple dedicated to Juno, the tutelary deity of the island; an aqueduct which crossed a mountain, and conveyed water to the city; and a mole of a hundred feet in height, which extended two furlongs into the sea. So extraordinary a work, constructed at so remote a period, proves that the Samians had a taste for

Samos, between the Continent, Asia, and Icaria.

navigation. It is said, that they built the first ships proper for transporting cavalry.

Inhabitants,
Government.

The earliest inhabitants of Samos were Carians, and people from the neighbouring islands. It formed a part of the Ionian confederation. The government was first monarchical, afterwards republican under a democratic senate, oligarchical, and no doubt often anarchical, since it was exposed to domestic troubles. The most remarkable civil war was occasioned by the nobles named *geomori*, who deprived the people of their lands, and divided them among themselves. In a war which took place afterwards, they entrusted the command of the troops to nine generals, with whose disposition it appears they were not well acquainted; for these commanders finding themselves at the head of the troops, put the *geomori* to the sword, and re-established democracy. This form of government gave place to tyranny, which one Syloson found means to establish, by enticing the people from the city under the pretence of a procession, and not suffering them to return till he had disarmed them, and rendered them obedient. The people, however, resumed their authority, but were again brought under the yoke by Polycrates, the famous tyrant of Samos.

Polycrates,
2431.

He attained to the sovereign authority by a plot formed in concert with his brothers, to whom he promised a share in the government. It is said,

they began their enterprize when only ten in number, and that having taken possession of the citadel they withstood the first efforts of the Samians. The tyrant of Naxos, a neighbouring island, sent very opportunely assistance to these brothers. Polycrates mounted the throne, but he refused to admit any partners, and got rid of his brothers either by death or banishment; and even of the great by whom he had been opposed. Thus he was master in his own country, and soon became so in others. The anecdote respecting Amasis, king of Egypt, his ally, who advised him to bring upon himself some misfortune to break the course of too uninterrupted prosperity, which he was afraid would in the end prove his ruin, is well known. Polycrates at first was not able to procure that misfortune necessary for his happiness. He became a conqueror, formidable to his enemies; his alliance was courted, and if he experienced a few trifling checks they still turned out to his glory. Too much confidence, however, hurried him on to destruction. Being accustomed to success in all his enterprizes, he fell into a snare laid for him by a Persian governor, who was hurt to see himself eclipsed by the sovereign of a petty island like Samos. He enticed him into his government, and caused him to be crucified. Polycrates, notwithstanding his being styled a tyrant, was a great prince, a good general, and an able politician. Samos was never so flourishing as under his reign.

Anacreon lived in his time: a court which encouraged this poet, and where he was fond of residing, could not be destitute of pleasure.

Mæandrus. Polycrates was succeeded by Mæandrus, his secretary and minister. He intended to have restored the Samians to liberty, but when he made a proposal for that purpose in an assembly of the people, Telesearchus, one of the principal inhabitants, rose up and said, that he had much better begin by giving an account of the money with the management of which he had been intrusted. Mæandrus replied: "If I am addressed in such language while I have authority in my hand, what will be the case when I shall have abdicated?" He therefore retained the crown; but it did not remain long in his possession. It was wrested from him by one of the brothers of Polycrates, who had been only banished. Various successors held the reins of government, some little known, and others with reputation, under the protection of the Persians; and in alliance sometimes with the Athenians, and sometimes with the Lacedemonians. This degenerate state was followed by one still worse under the kings of Macedonia, Syria, and Pergamus. The Samians were involved in great revolutions almost without being observed. Thus they fell into the hands of the Romans as a part of the states of Eumenes, bequeathed to the republic. Augustus restored them to liberty and the use of their laws, which they had enjoyed for

a short time during their alliance with the Athenians; but Vespasian included Samos among the Greek islands which he formed into a province.

GREEK ISLANDS.

The Greek islands consist of two general divisions: the Cyclades, thus called from the Greek word which signifies a circle, are those arranged in that form around Delos, the island of Apollo. The Sporades take their name from another Greek word which signifies to sow, because they are scattered in a confused manner throughout the sea, at a distance from the circle of Samos. There are some of them which it would be useless to name, were they not sometimes mentioned in the Grecian history.

Greek
islands, Cy-
clades and
Sporades.

Proconnesus, on the coast of Thrace, opposite to Cyzicum, is known by its beautiful marble, which is susceptible of the finest polish. Constantine would employ no other for embellishing his new city.

Proconne-
sus.

Besbicus, near Cyzicum, is reckoned among those islands which have been detached from the continent.

Besbicus.

Tenedos, opposite to the ancient Troy, may be about nine leagues in circumference. The long twisted snakes which devoured Laocoon and his sons came from this island, and the Greeks concealed themselves behind it when they pretended to raise the siege of Troy. Its inhabitants were

Tenedos.

remarkably strict in the administration of justice. *Tenedian justice* was a proverbial expression, employed to convey the idea of severe justice. It produces the most delicious muscadine wine of the Levant. Justinian made it a kind of magazine for the corn transported to Constantinople. It belonged to the Athenians, the Lacedemonians, and the Romans, and afterwards fell into the hands of the Turks.

Lesbos.

Lesbos is about a hundred and twenty leagues in circumference. It produced Arion, who is considered as the inventor of the lyre; Theophrastus, the chief of the peripatetic philosophy next to Aristotle; Pittacus, one of the seven sages of Greece; Alcæus, a lyric poet; Sappho, the tenth muse; Terpander, who added a seventh string to the lyre; Hellanicus, a celebrated historian; Callias, the laborious commentator of Alcæus and Sappho; Diophanes, a celebrated rhetorician; and many others. There was a certain period, when the Romans who wished to improve themselves in the belles-lettres repaired to Rhodes, Athens, or Mitylene, the capital of Lesbos.

The wine of Lesbos was employed by Aristotle to appreciate the merits of two great men. Being one day asked whether he preferred Menedemus of Rhodes, or Theophrastus of Lesbos, he poured out wine of both these places, and having tasted each, said: "They are both excellent, but that of Lesbos is the best."

Like the other islands, it was peopled by colonies, the chiefs or conductors of which became kings. Afterwards democracy was established, and all the cities then affected a superiority over their neighbours, which gave rise to civil wars, that brought back royalty, or, as it was called in Greek, tyranny. Pittacus, who had expelled a tyrant from Mitylene, was even requested by the inhabitants after that to assume the sceptre. He governed with great wisdom; and several of his decisions were engraven on the walls of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, as oracles of justice. One of his laws will no doubt appear severe: it enacted that all misdemeanors committed during intoxication should be doubly punished.

The Lesbians were engaged in all the wars of the Persians, the Lacedemonians, Mithridates, and the Romans. The reputation of the men in regard to morals was indifferent, and that of the women still worse. *A Lesbian life* was an expression generally used for a debauched life. This island is called at present Mitylene: it has around it several small ones of little importance.

The principal emblems found on the medals of Chios. Chios, or Scio, as it was called by the ancients, all relate to wine: vine tendrils, casks, and cups. The poets did not think they exaggerated when they called it nectar and ambrosia. If we can credit the inhabitants, this delicious beverage excited the poetical fervour of Homer, who they

say was a native of their island. A kind of amphitheatre, called the school of Homer, and situated in the middle of the best vineyard, is still shewn.

Were we to describe the government of Chios, we should only repeat what has been said of other cities: monarchy, republicanism, tyranny, and subjection to the neighbouring islands, or to great empires, all succeeding each other in the same circle, without any striking event to form a variety. It is only remarked, that the Chians having acquired by an act of treachery and sacrilege an exceeding fertile district, they were a long time scrupulous of employing the productions of it in their sacrifices. They considered the fruits and the corn as prophane, and unworthy of being offered to the gods; but they did not carry their delicacy so far as to neglect turning these productions to advantage. Chios lies in the centre of eight or ten other small islands.

Icaria, &c. Icaria, which takes its name from Icarus, has excellent pastures, and Patmos convenient ports. The latter consists entirely of rocks, and formerly was a place of exile. Leros produced aloes. Pharmacusa and Lade were places of retreat for pirates. Julius Cæsar was taken prisoner by them.

Cos. Æsculapius, the god of medicine, had a beautiful temple at Cos, and was honoured there with a particular kind of worship. This island gave

birth to Hippocrates, the restorer of that science : it is honoured by Homer with the epithet of the well peopled. Hippocrates, Senius, and other celebrated physicians, formed in this island, were not in existence when it merited the epithet bestowed on it by Homer. Xenophen, physician to the emperor Claudius, who pretended to be a descendant of Æsculapius, induced that prince to grant an exemption from all taxes to the place of his nativity. Cos, therefore, was under more than one obligation to medicine. This island boasts of having given birth to Apelles, who executed there his magnificent painting of Venus emerging from the sea. Monarchy, democracy, and aristocracy, prevailed in Cos, and it was afterwards subject to the Romans. A kind of stuff so fine as to be absolutely transparent was manufactured formerly in this island. It was much esteemed by the Roman ladies ; and beauties who wore it had the pleasure of believing themselves clothed, though it shewed them almost naked. Nisyra, a very small island in the neighbourhood, is supposed to have been detached from Cos. Carpathus, which is not larger, contained, it is said, three cities. Many others in these seas on account of their smallness ought to be considered rather as rocks than islands. The mildness of the climate, and the fertility of the little soil found in them, attracted inhabitants.

Thera, near Crete, is indebted for its name to ^{Ti. era.} Theras, the Lacedemonian, who carried thither

some descendants of the Argonauts, of whom the following circumstance is related. Having been well received by the inhabitants, who gave them not only lands but even wives, these adventurers conspired against the proprietors, and attempted to make themselves masters of the whole country. The plot, however, was discovered, and they were all condemned to death. As the sentence was to be executed next morning, the women begged permission to take a last farewell of their husbands. This favour being granted, they embraced that opportunity of changing clothes with them, by which means they enabled them to escape. Theras, a Spartan king, who after abdicating royalty became tired of living as a subject, proposed to collect these foreigners, and to transport them beyond the territories of the republic. He accordingly placed himself at their head, and the island where they landed got the name of Thera.

Ceos.

Ceos was so populous that a law was enacted, in consequence of which all those above sixty years of age were to be poisoned, in order that the rest might have a sufficient subsistence. Those, indeed, who did not choose to submit to the law, were at liberty to quit the island when they attained to that age; but they were not allowed to carry any thing with them. The inhabitants of Julis, a city of Ceos, being besieged by the Athenians, proposed to massacre all the children, that they might not be impeded in the labours necessary for their

defense by taking care of them. The Athenians, when informed of this resolution, chose rather to raise the siege than to suffer them to commit so horrid a crime. Ceos is the country of Simonides, who composed the first verses sung at funerals. Cythnus, an island in the neighbourhood, contains hot baths.

Seriphus, covered with rocks interspersed with Seriphus. copper-mines, which render the air unwholesome, and fertile only in onions, its principal production, was the place to which the Romans sent those whom they wished to punish with the most disagreeable exile. One of these exiles once asked a Seriphian what crime was punished by banishment from the island. "Perjury," replied the Seriphian. "Well then," returned the other, "go and take a false oath as soon as possible, that you may get yourself banished from so execrable a place." Augustus sent thither an orator, who had spoken with too much freedom. Seventeen years exile in the island of Crete had not been able to cure him of that fault.

Melos might be held in estimation among the Melos. atheists, if there are any, because it is the country of Diagoras, who first denied the existence of the gods. Its alum, its honey, and its waters which cured the itch but occasioned the dropsy, were esteemed.

Siphnus, now Siphanto, and Argentiera, con- Siphnus,
tained mines, the former of lead and the latter of Argentiera
Antiparos.

silver. The inhabitants, it is said, now conceal them, lest the Turks should compel them to work in them. Tournefort has described the caverns of Olearos, better known under the name of Antiparos. It appears that they have been originally marble quarries. They have thrown considerable light on the vegetation of stones.

Naxos.

Naxos, a warlike flourishing island, produced abundance of excellent wines, and was ornamented with a superb temple, erected in honour of Bacchus. Its fruits are delicious; and the plains are covered with orange, olive, mulberry, and fig-trees. Cedars also are found in this island. Its marble, which is highly esteemed, is of a green colour, variegated with white veins. The Athenians subdued it; were expelled from it, and afterwards returned. Under the Romans it participated in the common fate of the empire.

Paros.

Paros is celebrated for its marble, which must have invited thither eminent workmen, for there are few places where so many fragments of columns, statues, architraves, and pedestals, are to be seen. The walls of Parichia, built on the ruins of Paros, are entirely constructed of them. It was called formerly the opulent, the powerful, the happy. It was proud of its riches, which at present are confined to the produce of a very limited trade. It is the country of Archilochus, the severest of the satiric poets.

Syros.

Syros abounded with wine, corn, and other ar-

ticles of provision. The air of this island is exceedingly salubrious. It is the country of Pherecides, one of the most learned of the ancient philosophers, the disciple of Pittacus the master of Pythagoras, and the first, it is said, who wrote in prose, who observed the revolutions of the moon, who predicted eclipses, and who taught the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and transmigration, which he borrowed from the Phœnicians. Mycone, Andros, Syros, Tenos, and other neighbouring islands present nothing remarkable, but good wine and beautiful ruins.

Three temples were erected in the island of ^{Delos.} Delos, the first consecrated to Latona, the second to Diana her daughter, and the third to Apollo. The last was one of the most superb edifices in the universe. This deity gave here formerly oracular answers, highly esteemed on account of their perspicuity, though not so much as those of Delphi, which were exceedingly obscure, but which could be employed with more certainty. A great part of the island belonged to this temple. The island itself was an asylum not only for individuals, but also for nations. Hostile armies have been seen to meet here without committing the least outrage against each other through respect for the place. All the Greeks contributed towards the construction of the temple, and of its magnificent galleries, the ruins of which still exhibit the names of several kings who encouraged the work. Some of

them sent thither gifts which were borne by solemn deputations. This island is visited, at present, by travellers who are fond of searching for the traces of ancient monuments. The earth is so covered with ruins and thorns that it has become unfit for cultivation. It has not a single inhabitant : such is the contrast between ancient and modern Delos.

Lemnos,
&c.

After Scyros, where Achilles resided some time disguised as a female, in the court of Lycomedes, you pass four small islands, of little importance, and arrive at Lemnos, consecrated to Vulcan, the habitation of the first blacksmiths. His mother Juno was also worshipped in the island, and a young female was annually sacrificed to her. A kind of earth found here, called *terra Lemnia* and *terra sigillata*, because the bags which contain it bear the impression of a seal, has always been considered as an excellent remedy against poison, the bite of serpents, and the bloody-flux. It is calcareous earth, which the Romans went in quest of with religious ceremonies. The modern Greeks practise some also when they collect it. A great part of it is sent to the grand-seignior, and the rest is sold on his account. The inhabitants are forbidden to preserve any of it under pain of death. There was at Lemnos also a labyrinth, a work of great magnificence. Imbros and Thasos contained gold mines.

Samothrace.

The island of Samothrace was famous on ac-

count of the worship paid there to the gods called *cabiri*. The learned are not agreed either in regard to the origin of that word, or to its signification. There is reason, however, to think that the natives understood by it deities exceedingly powerful. Of all the ancient oaths, that which called to witness the gods of Samothrace was the most sacred. The ceremonies of initiation used in this worship ought not to be forgotten, especially as some resemblance will be found in them to those practised by a celebrated society of modern times. The person to be admitted, ornamented with purple ribands, was placed on a kind of throne, and being crowned with laurel, the priests and spectators danced around him. The dance concluded with execrations against those who might reveal what should take place in their assemblies. It is to be observed that the attribute of a *cabiri*, as represented on medals, is a hammer.

It would be vain to search in Corcyra for the gardens of king Alcinous; but near a sandy and barren district there is found another which abounds with fruit-trees, such as the olive and fig-tree, vines, &c. and produces also rich crops of corn. These are the real gardens. Others of the like kind are found in Leucas and Cythera, the name of which excites the idea of pleasure, as well as in the Strophades, Echinades, and a multitude of other small isles. Nature when she conferred on them these ornaments seemed desirous

Corcyra,
Leucas,
Cythera.

of rendering them the abode of peace and happiness; yet they have almost always been the theatre of foreign wars and domestic troubles, or exposed to the depredation of pirates.

Ægina, Salamis, Eubœa.

Ægina, though exceedingly rocky, was rendered fruitful by the industry of its inhabitants. As it was by means of cultivation that they were able to make it productive, the poets supposed that, after the country had been depopulated by a plague, the gods created men known under the name of Myrmidons, that is to say, that a set of indolent drones were succeeded by a laborious race. We shall close this long enumeration of the Greek isles with Eubœa, a large and beautiful island, which like all the rest was exposed to external as well as internal wars.

All these islands have experienced dreadful ravage by fire, and the subversion of flourishing cities. The inhabitants, oppressors and oppressed, in turns, wrested from each other alternately the palm of liberty, which they moistened with the blood of their neighbours, or of their fellow-citizens. Degraded at present by the badges of slavery under the Turkish government, they still lead a peaceful and happy life, provided they pay the taxes. Travellers who have had an opportunity of examining their character, found among the men that delicacy and urbanity which distinguished the Greeks; among the women the attractive graces of their ancestors, and in their fes-

rivals decency and mirth. As far as we are able to judge from history, they are happier in their present dependence than they were formerly under the egis of liberty, always agitated, and always covered with blood.

MACEDONIA.

At the bottom of the gulph which contains this archipelago lies Macedonia. Its limits have varied at different periods, according as fortune was favourable or unfavourable to the Macedonian princes. It was formed into a kingdom by the aggregation of a great many small tribes, the names of which are still preserved. It is not known at what time that of Macedonians prevailed, nor whether it is derived from a king named Macedo, a descendant of Deucalion, or from Mygdonia, a province, converted into Macedonia.

Macedonia, between the Ægean sea, Thessaly, the Adriatic sea, and the Strymon.

Macedonia contains a great many mountains, one of which, named Athos, is reckoned to be among the highest on the earth. It abounded formerly with altars consecrated to the heathen deities, and at present is covered with monasteries. Mount Pangæus conceals in its bosom mines of gold and silver. These mountains, as well as all Macedonia, supply excellent timber, both for architecture and ship-building. Formerly, deserts were unknown here; but at present, being less populous, there is sometimes a scarcity of provisions. It has not taken so much advantage as

Face of the country.

it might of these as which wash its coasts in regard to foreign commerce, nor of the beautiful rivers by which it is watered for the purposes of inland navigation. We do not find here any extraordinary animals, nor any natural or artificial curiosities. The air is keen and salubrious. Many people attain here to a great age, and continue vigorous. The plains bordering on the sea produce corn and oil, and are more fertile than the rest of the country, which in general is too steep and hilly; but it affords pasture to a great number of excellent horses.

Inhabitants.

The ancestors of the Macedonians, who became gradually masters of Greece, and afterwards of Asia, were Argives. Having arrived in this country under a chief, descended from Hercules, they continually extended their dominion as much by their prudence as their valour; for they erected no trophies after their victories, and treated as brothers those whom they subdued. All these people were melted, if I may use the expression, into one mass, and formed only one nation, the distinguishing character of which was bravery, hardiness, and simplicity.

Government.

The government of the Macedonians exhibits a picture of temperate monarchy. Under the authority of their kings they enjoyed more freedom than the people of the greater part of the republics of Greece. Being faithful, and even zealous subjects, they seem to have carried their affection

for their princes too far, by making a law, or adopting one from Persia, in virtue of which not only conspirators, but all their relations were exterminated. Their attachment to their kings did not, however, lead them to idolatrous submission. When they accosted them, they conversed with them in a familiar manner, and saluted them with a kiss. They loved and did not fear them, because no one could be put to death but by a sentence of the tribunals, or of the army.

These monarchs were exceedingly modest in regard to those ornaments attached to royalty. Magnificent arms and a state-car was all that distinguished them from their subjects. Their education was severe. They tempered the majesty of the throne with gentle familiarity; ate with their friends; readily admitted their subjects into their presence; and determined causes, and even such as were of little importance. All these usages were not the habits of one king, but were perpetuated on the Macedonian throne for several centuries.

The Macedonians professed the same religion as the Greeks. Their principal gods were: Jupiter, whom they honoured as their protector; Hercules, as the tutelary deity of valiant men; and Diana, as the goddess of hunting, which was their favourite occupation. They were superstitious and devout. The kings often performed the sacerdotal functions, erected statues and altars, and

Manners
and cus-
toms.

immolated victims. The Macedonians never deviated from the rules of sobriety but during their grand entertainments, from which the women were excluded. Young men were not allowed to sit down at these feasts till they had killed a boar fairly; that is to say, with a lance, without the assistance of toils or nets. They were fond of the chase, not only as an exercise, but as it gave them an opportunity of displaying their courage by braving danger. In the camp they were instructed, under the eye of their commanders, in the art of employing their strength and agility; and they executed a military dance, which was not destitute of grace: but though intrepid soldiers they were timid sailors.

Laws and
Sciences.

The laws emanated from the prince, but before they could be carried into execution it was necessary that they should be agreeable to the principles of natural justice. An accused person appeared bound, in a habit suited to his distress, and of whatever rank bore no mark of his dignity. He was never deprived of the right of making his own defense. In doubtful cases torture was allowed; and stoning to death was the most common punishment. The Macedonian year consisted of twelve unequal months, which altogether contained as many days as ours. It is to be observed, that every four years they had an intercalary day. We are not furnished with such striking instances of their knowledge in the other

sciences. We shall only remark that they understood, in an eminent degree, the art of coining money. Some of their medals bear on one side the bust of the prince, and on the other the name of the city where it was struck—a practice of great use to history. The exergue, sometimes in the Macedonian language, shews that it absolutely differed from all the other dialects of Greece.

Bravery was natural to the Macedonians. It Military discipline. was seconded by excellent discipline, and that happy combination of courage and docility which rendered them invincible. Sometimes, however, they were less powerful, though always as brave as their neighbours; but when once the genius of their princes had opened the way to great conquests, they supported them with matchless ardour; and to ensure success to their projects submitted to the most severe discipline. War then became the business of the nation. The people were born soldiers, and had no other education than what they received in the camp.

The Macedonian army, at the period of its greatest success and glory, was composed of natives, who formed two thirds of it, and who had no other pay than what they acquired by plunder; Greek auxiliaries, maintained by their republics; and mercenaries, paid by the king. The infantry consisted of three kinds of soldiers, viz. the light-armed, the peltastæ, who were better armed, and the heavy-armed. The last formed

the celebrated phalanx, a body terrible in attack, unshaken in their resistance, and as formidable by the regularity and quickness of their movements, when they advanced, as by their firmness when they assumed a position of defense.

Though the greater part of the cavalry consisted of foreigners, there were among them some bodies of Macedonians. When a soldier lost his horse in battle, or by disease, the captain was obliged to furnish him with another from his own stable, agreeably to this maxim, that private pomp ought to give way to the public benefit. Certain rewards were appointed for invalids and veterans.

Bucklers and helmets of raw leather, swords made either for pushing or cutting, daggers and pikes, were the offensive and defensive weapons of the Macedonians. When the king commanded in person, which was almost always the case, he was distinguished from others neither by magnificent clothes, a grand equipage, nor a sumptuous table: He lived like a common soldier; and this frugality was not the virtue of a few kings, but of all from the first to the last.

The phalanx encamped in the centre; the cavalry on one wing, and the light troops on the other. The same order, as far as possible, was observed while on march. When the ranks of the enemy were broken, the cavalry and light troops pursued; but the phalanx remained constantly on

the field of battle, to prevent them from rallying. During the action the officers, and even the king, made an exhortatory address to the soldiers. They had a war-cry which they sent forth all together when they attacked.

The army never encamped without surrounding itself with a ditch. The tents contained no more than two soldiers each : they were made of hides, cut in such a manner that they could be sewed together ; and when inflated with air might, if necessary, be employed as rafts for crossing rivers. The king had only two ; one to sleep in, and another to receive visits. The army was attended neither by women, children, nor superfluous baggage. The number of the carriages was small, as each soldier carried his own necessaries. Such were the troops who, issuing from a small corner of Europe, extended their dominion even to Africa, and subjected to their empire all Asia, as far as it was then known.

Caranus, who carried a colony from Argos to ^{Kings.} Macedonia, finding the country inhabited, made ^{Caranus.} himself master of one of its cities, and afterwards ^{2205.} of the whole kingdom. According to the usual custom of conquerors, he erected trophies ; but ^{Trophies.} a fortunate circumstance cured him of this useless vanity. Having learned that a lion, issuing from the forests of Mount Olympus, had destroyed one of these monuments, he conceived that this was a warning from the gods not to irritate his

neighbours by perpetuating their disgrace. He afterwards made it a rule, which he transmitted to his successors, as a maxim of state, never to treat conquered nations as enemies, but to consider them as subjects.

Æropus.

Five kings preceded *Æropus*, who gained a battle when in his cradle. The Macedonians, though brave, had been always conquered by the Illyrians, who ravaged their country. As they imagined that they should combat with more success if they were animated by the presence of their king, who was still at the breast, the chiefs caused him to be carried into the midst of the battle; and whether it was owing to national ardour, or to the dread of being exposed to shame if they abandoned their infant king, the Macedonians fought with such obstinacy, that the Illyrians were defeated.

*Amyntas,
Alexander.*

The reign of *Amyntas* gave birth to the adventure already related, of the young Persian noblemen who obliged that prince to introduce his daughters to them during the licentiousness of a feast. *Alexander* the king's son avenged the violence offered to his father, and prevented the disgrace with which his sisters were threatened.

This *Alexander*, who succeeded his father, acted during his whole reign the part of mediator between the king of Persia and the Grecian republics. The latter reproached him sometimes for the duplicity which he employed in his negotiations. They gave him to understand, that it

would be much nobler, and more becoming his dignity, to declare for the party who defended the cause of liberty, than to crouch, as he did on some occasions, under the yoke of the Asiatic monarch; but he obtained by this equivocal conduct the advantage of securing his kingdom from the ravages of war, and even of enriching it by the passage of troops. There is reason, however, to conjecture, that he leaned towards the side of the Greeks; for being in the Persian army he sent them notice, that the Persians intended to attack them. Without this information they would have been surprized and defeated. "I hope," said he to them, "that you will remember a man who ventured on so dangerous a step through his love towards the Greeks. It is the interest I take in the safety of Greece, which induces me to act in this manner, being myself a Greek by extraction."

Perdiccas, the son of this Alexander, when he ascended the throne, saw himself surrounded by the Thracians, a barbarous nation, the Persians, the Lacedemonians, and the Athenians, who all endeavoured to involve him in their quarrels, being either secret or avowed enemies to each other. He, however, got rid of them by exciting them to mutual hostilities, first assisting and afterwards deserting them. Being accused of treachery, he recriminated by reproaching them with their insincerity; and both indeed were right. There

is no kind of war which he did not experience ;— invasions, unexpected attacks, regular campaigns, and civil dissensions. But it is remarked, that, though a brave and able warrior, he preferred the pen to the sword, and employed negotiation in preference to arms.

Archelaus.

We do not know under what title Archelaus succeeded this prince ; but the latter left him a powerful kingdom. He was at great pains to secure it by erecting fortresses ; and it appears that he enjoyed a quiet and peaceable life in the company of learned men whom he loved. Euripides died at his court, and he erected a magnificent tomb to his memory. He wished to obtain the friendship of Socrates ; but this philosopher, it is said, rejected his solicitations, on account of the cruelties he had committed in the beginning of his reign to secure his usurpation, to which it is believed he was indebted for the throne. If this was really the case, he fell from it as he had ascended it, by a conspiracy which cost him also his life. The crown, however, was transferred to his son Orestes, still an infant.

Orestes.

He had the good fortune to find a relation named Æropus, who governed the kingdom with prudence during his minority, under the title of protector, and who afterwards restored the sceptre to his pupil. In the reign of this prince, Agelilaus, king of Sparta, returning from Asia with a body of troops, asked permission to pass through

Macedonia. Æropus replied, "that he would
 "take his request into consideration." "Let him
 "consider," returned the haughty Spartan; "as
 "for us, we shall march on." This firmness
 astonished the protector, who dispatched orders
 that he should every-where meet with a favour-
 able reception. By this precaution he saved Ma-
 cedonia from being pillaged, a misfortune to
 which the Spartans would have subjected any
 other country, less compliant with their wishes.

The remainder of the history of this country is
 involved in obscurity, by the catastrophes which
 placed and displaced princes, till Amyntas, who
 secured the throne in his family, and transmitted
 his crown in peace to his son Alexander. We
 may observe in these two kings the difference be-
 tween policy and villany. The address of Amyn-
 tas deprived him neither of the esteem of his
 neighbours nor of the love of his subjects; where-
 as the cunning of Alexander, instead of being
 beneficial to his interest, deprived him of the con-
 fidence of those with whom he treated, and of the
 love of the Macedonians. They shewed great in-
 difference when he was torn from the throne by a
 violent death, while still in the bloom of life.
 One of his relations, named Pausanias, wished to
 get possession of the sovereign power, to the pre-
 judice of Perdiccas and Philip, the two brothers
 of the deceased king. This usurper gained the
 favour of the people; but Eurydice, the mother of

Amyntas II.
 Alexander II
 Perdiccas II.

the princes, found assistance against Pausanias in the affection of Pelopidas, an Athenian general. He was chosen arbiter between the competitors, and his decision gave the sceptre to Perdiccas.

As he was apprehensive that troubles might again break out in Macedonia after his departure, he demanded hostages from the competitors. The one demanded from Eurydice was Philip her youngest son. It was with the utmost reluctance that this affectionate mother could be prevailed on to commit a beloved son into the hands of strangers; but the high opinion which she entertained of Pelopidas lessened her uneasiness. She earnestly recommended to him the care of Philip's education, on which this great man promised to bestow every attention, and he indeed fulfilled his engagement. As he passed through Thebes he delivered the young prince to his friend Epaminondas, who had at his house a Pythagorean philosopher of high reputation. By this philosopher, Philip was instructed in all those sciences which ornament the mind; and he was taught the art of war by Epaminondas. While under the protection of this eminent man, the young prince had before his eyes examples of the most indefatigable activity, unshaken firmness of soul, love of justice, disinterestedness, and candour; but he is accused of having retained none of those virtues, but such as were suitable to his designs.

Philip,
2639.

While Philip was forming himself in the school

of Epaminondas, he received intelligence of the death of his brother Perdiccas, who had been killed in a battle against the Illyrians, the hereditary enemies of the Macedonians. This prince having left only one son, an infant, named Amyntas, Philip with the utmost dispatch repaired privately to Macedonia, where there were already two competitors supported by the Illyrians and the Thracians. When he arrived there he found the affairs of government in the greatest disorder; the people oppressed, and divided in their opinions respecting the rights of the monarch; foreign troops called in by the rivals, and no money to enable him to oppose the enemies of his country. - What a noble career for a young man of twenty-two!

Philip then began to exert those great talents for negotiation or war with which he was endowed by nature. He put an end to the domestic troubles; gaining over the people by his affability; the great by immense promises, of which he was always lavish; and the military by bestowing on them every mark of esteem and affection. The pretenders to the throne disappeared, being either satisfied with some indemnification or subdued. After such great success, the nation offered to him, or suffered him to assume without opposition, the place of his nephew; and Philip in a few years became the most powerful, and the most envied monarch in that part of the world.

The jealousy of the neighbouring states in re-

gard to this prince was exceedingly pardonable, as they could not fail to observe his ambitious projects, though he concealed them with great art. He had pretences always in readiness. If he attacked Amphipolis, a city which lay very convenient for his purposes, he assured the Athenians, that it was in order to put an end to the dissensions of the inhabitants. If he took Potidea and Pydna, two cities of great strength, it was only to deliver them from the Athenians, who kept garrisons in them, and to restore them to the Olynthians, whose friendship he was desirous of securing. When any of his courtiers seemed astonished at his generosity, he replied: "We must oblige those whom we cannot conquer." But Olynthus had its turn. Philip took possession of the whole country between the Nessus and the Strymon; not, as he said, to make himself master of the gold and silver mines which they contained, but to assist the inhabitants against those restless neighbours by whom they were threatened. It was of little importance to him whether his stratagems were discovered after the event, provided they were not disconcerted in the course of the enterprize.

One of the great causes of his hatred against Demosthenes was, that this orator guessed his intentions; penetrated, as it were, to his thoughts; and pointed out to the Athenians the motives and object of his actions so clearly, that they might

have often rendered them abortive, had they not shut their eyes against the light which Demosthenes presented to them. Philip's resource was to bribe other orators to oppose him ; but he acknowledged the superiority of Demosthenes. "He is not in my pay," said he ; "if he chose to enter into my service, I would gladly give him greater appointments than I ever conferred on any of those who compose my household." To characterize the invincible eloquence of this orator, he said : "Isocrates combats with a foil, Demosthenes with a sword."

The orator in his harangues did not treat him indeed with much ceremony. The following is the character which he draws of him, in order to inspire the Athenians with a dread of his designs : I will shew you this same Philip with whom we are at war ; I will shew him to you as he is ; covered with wounds, blind of one eye, lame of one hand and leg ; ready to brave new dangers, and to give fortune an opportunity of depriving him of some other member, in hopes that the rest of his body will live with glory and honour. O Athenians, such is Philip !" The manner in which he lost his eye is worthy of particular attention ; as it may serve to shew that we ought to despise no person however mean, and that no enemy is unimportant. One After, an excellent marksman, who, as is said, would not miss a bird flying, being introduced to him during the siege of Methone,

Philip replied : " Very well, I shall engage him
" in my service when I make war on starlings."
After, much hurt by this sarcasm, retired into the
town ; and some days after, Philip being employed
in directing the works, was struck in the eye by
an arrow, on which he found inscribed : " For
" Philip's right eye." The king caused another
to be discharged into the city with the following
inscription : " If Philip takes the city he will hang
" After ;" which he accordingly did. Having,
as we may say, provoked the insult, it would have
been much better if he had pardoned it, as was
the case in another circumstance, of less import-
ance indeed, but sufficient to incense a king. The
Peloponesians, to whom he had rendered some
services, hissed his chariot at the Olympic games,
which was one of the greatest insults that could be
offered. Some of his courtiers advised him to
punish this insolence ; but he replied nobly : " If
" they hiss when we render them good offices,
" what will they not do when we render them
" bad ?" There is still more real magnanimity in
what he said to the Athenian orators : " I am
" much obliged to these gentlemen, who by point-
" ing out my faults give me an opportunity of
" correcting them."

We must not omit to mention his valuable
letter to Aristotle : " You are to know that I
" have a son ; I thank the gods for it ; not so
" much because they have given me one, as on

“account of his being born your cotemporary.
“Under your care he will become worthy, I
“hope, of succeeding us, and of governing Mace-
“donia.” This son was Alexander. The pupil of
Epaminondas, and of a philosopher chosen by that
great man, knew well the value of education.
The respect which Philip shewed for justice ought
to be ascribed to the efficacy of the good prin-
ciples instilled into his mind from childhood. This
respect made him bear with patience the severe re-
partee of a woman whom he had condemned after
enjoying himself at table. “I appeal,” cried she—
“To whom?” said the king. “To Philip sober.”
The monarch revised the case, and sent her away
satisfied. He never suffered those who came be-
fore him for his decision to remain long in sus-
pence, being persuaded of this truth, that he who
is guilty of delaying justice thereby forfeits his
authority. No human consideration could induce
him to stop its course. His courtiers having made
strong intercession for a young man whom he was
going to condemn, he replied: “If the sentence is
“against him he will be dishonoured. Well, I
“had rather he should be dishonoured than I.”

Philip said, and he knew it by experience, that
“no city was impregnable if an ass loaded with
“gold could enter it.” But he reserved this kind
of corruption for his enemies. He did not wish
it to be employed around him. As his son lavish-
ed away a great deal of money on his courtiers, he

reproved him by a letter in the following words:
“ Young man, how can you imagine that you will
“ be faithfully served by those whom you daily
“ corrupt with your money. By this conduct
“ you run the risk of making the Macedonians
“ consider you, not as their king, but their
“ treasurer. Take my word for it, however well
“ you may discharge the latter employment, you
“ will never be but an indifferent prince.”

Alexander served his first campaign at the age of fifteen. He was then on one of the frontiers, which some turbulent neighbours were attempting to invade. Without informing his father, he collected troops; placed himself at their head; and not only secured Macedonia from hostilities, but carried the war into the enemies' country. Philip was highly pleased with this first display of his son's valour; but fearing that too much ardour might hurry him into some rash enterprize, he recalled him. This young prince accompanied his father at the famous battle of Chæronea, which decided the fate of Greece.

Negotiations, carried on with little sincerity between Philip and the Athenians, had long suspended a dangerous explosion. At first, the Athenians aimed at nothing less than the sovereignty of all Greece; but they afterwards lowered their tone, that they might not see it pass into the hands of Philip, and for that purpose they employed sometimes stratagem and sometimes force. Philip always

purfued the accomplifhment of his object, which was, to make himfelf be confidered by the Greeks as the protector of the weak, and the enemy of tyranny, were it even that of republics; and always ready to espoufe the caufe of thofe who requested his affiftance. He had not failed to engage in the facred war, which, on account of a fmall piece of land taken from the temple of Delphi, fet all Greece in flames. Philip, however, declared againft facrilege in fuch a manner as did not infpire the devout with a high idea of his fincerity.

The Athenians did not fuffer the king to be ignorant that they plainly faw through his defigns. Some fevere letters, written in an affected ftyle, had paffed between them. The Athenians made complaints, and Philip replied by reproaches; both were well founded; but a king who acted, at the fame time, as his own fecretary, his own general, his own minifter, and his own treafurer, had great advantage over a republic where intrigue always prefides in the choice of public officers. Every year it created ten generals. “How happy thefe people are,” faid Philip, “to find every year ten generals, while I, in the courfe of my whole life, never found but one.” This one was Parmenio. But a republic has fometimes more influence abroad by its agents, and thus Athens formed a powerful league, the force of which was difplayed in the plains of Chæronea, near Thebes, in Bœotia.

Two bodies worthy of combatting against each other, the sacred band and the Macedonian phalanx, there sustained a mutual attack. The former was composed of the flower of the Theban youth, all brothers in arms, who had sworn to conquer or die together. The phalanx is well known. The left wing was commanded by Alexander. The king, who commanded the right, perceived, with the eye of a general, that the Athenians, after some advantage, advanced incautiously in the pursuit. "They do not know how to conquer," said he; and immediately falling upon them put them to flight. During the first transports of his joy there was something ridiculous in his behaviour; but the youth who sees for the first time his brows crowned with the academic laurel, a general who is raised by his soldiers on the shield of victory, a woman in the first moment of her triumph over a heart disputed with her by rivals, all experience sensations which spurn at reflection: a kind of intoxication, the faults of which are entitled to indulgence.

Philip caused to be sung ironically in his presence the decree passed at the instigation of Demosthenes to excite the Greeks against him. He spoke with contempt of the Grecian states, and insulted his prisoners; but a few words from one of them, named Demades, made him sensible of the absurdity of his conduct. "O king," cried Demades, "since Heaven has assigned to you the

“ part of Agamemnon, why do you prefer acting
“ that of Therfites ?” Philip immediately set him
at liberty, as well as all the other prisoners. Finding
themselves so favourably treated, they were encouraged
to ask for their baggage : “ I believe,” said the king
laughing, “ they imagine that we “ did not fight in
earnest.” He, however, granted their demand. Demosthenes,
who was present at the battle of Chæronea, fled, and
threw away his arms that he might be able to run the
faster. A bush having caught hold of his robe, he thought
he was stopped by an enemy, and cried out : “ Spare
my life.” How many orators who, like him, are brave
in the senate, would in the field imitate his example !

The Athenians, in the utmost consternation, imagined
that they should soon see the conqueror at their gates ;
and indeed he might have advanced to the very walls ;
but either through generosity or policy he offered them
peace, which he granted to them on advantageous terms.
By this conduct he acquired the applause of all Greece.
Philip had excited the different states to fit out an
armament against Persia, of which he was declared
generalissimo. The Greeks, having been several times
invited to that country by the various competitors to
the Persian throne, had more than once penetrated
thither in large detachments, by which means they had
an opportunity of remarking the bad state of the
government ; its military weak-

ness; and above all the immense booty which might be acquired in that rich country. These motives had induced Agesilaus, one of the kings of Sparta, to form a plan, if not to overturn the Persian throne, at least to detach from it those states which lay most convenient for Greece. It is not known how far Philip's project extended; but as he was in the vigour of life, at the head of a powerful confederation, and an excellent army, and assisted by good commanders, being himself an able general, what had he not reason to expect? But a refusal to listen to the dictates of justice, disconcerted all his plans.

By a particular disposition of Providence, which may be considered as a punishment, Philip, who had always fomented the troubles of Greece, found his own court a prey to domestic dissension. It is not known what induced him to repudiate Olympias, the mother of Alexander, and the daughter of Neoptolemus, brother of Arymbas king of Epirus. He had carried his love for her so far as to commit an act of injustice in her favour, by placing the crown of Epirus, after the death of Arymbas, on the head of a son of Neoptolemus, named Alexander, who was consequently a brother of Olympias, to the prejudice of Æcidas the son of Arymbas. Olympias was a woman of a cunning, haughty, and revengeful disposition. Being dismissed by her husband, she retired to Epirus; and Philip then married Cleopatra, the niece of

Attalus, a Macedonian nobleman. During the marriage ceremony a violent quarrel arose between Attalus and Alexander. The former took the liberty of saying—"We shall at length have a legal successor to the crown." "Am I then a bastard?" cried the son of Olympias; and he immediately threw a cup at the head of Attalus. The latter returned the compliment; swords were drawn, and Philip, forgetting his lameness, attempted to run towards his son, but stumbled and fell. "There," said Alexander, "the Macedonians will have a chief capable no doubt of passing from Europe to Asia, when he cannot go from one table to another without being exposed to the risk of breaking his neck." After this insolent speech he retired to Epirus, and resided with his mother.

A reconciliation was, however, effected between the father and son; and the latter returned to court. It may readily be believed that he did not behold Attalus afterwards with a favourable eye; and there is reason to think that those who had cause to complain of the uncle of the young queen found at least a comforter in the son of Olympias. Among the malcontents was a young man named Pausanias, to whom Attalus had offered the most disgusting insult. He was continually soliciting justice from the king; but Philip, unwilling to offend his young spouse by punishing her uncle, still temporized, and endeavoured to appease the

young man by promises. He imagined that he had entirely satisfied him, by appointing him a captain of his guards; but this favour, instead of suppressing his desire of vengeance, made him only change the object of it, as it gave him an opportunity of directing against the person who had refused him justice that blow which was destined for the offender.

In this event there are some circumstances worthy of being remarked. The first is the security of Philip, maintained by an oracle, and the flattery of a poet. When he had fully determined on the Persian expedition, having sent to consult the priests of Delphi respecting its success, she replied: "The bull is already crowned; his end approaches; he will soon be sacrificed." The Macedonian king thought he beheld in this oracle the Persian monarch ready to be offered up as a victim to the Gods of Greece. He suffered himself to be still more deceived by a passage in a tragedy, destined to represent, under borrowed names, Philip already master of Asia. The poet there said: "Your towering hopes are elevated to the heavens; you wish to extend your dominion to the extremities of the earth. Your life has its boundaries; yet you set none to your ambition. The moment of your fall is at hand—it approaches, and nothing can secure you from the fatal blow with which you are threatened." The Macedonian monarch caused these verses to

be repeated to him several times; and he enjoyed the high satisfaction of seeing in them, as in a prophecy, the certainty of his triumph.

Another object of remark is, the danger of giving as well as of receiving advice. One who has no other aim than to display his wit, by saying something extraordinary, is perhaps the cause of a crime through the disposition of the person who listens to him. This reflexion may be applied to the sophist Hermocrates and Pausanias. The latter, tormented with gloomy thoughts, and believing himself dishonoured as long as he remained unrevenged, asked Hermocrates, what a man ought to do to render himself famous. The sophist made the following significant reply: "He must kill him who has performed the greatest actions;" and he gravely added the reason: "for the reputation of the person who has been killed will not fail to perpetuate the remembrance of the author of his death." What horrid celebrity!

Philip, surrounded by prosperity, was far from suspecting the fate which awaited him. Being ready to depart for Persia, he gave, in great pomp, a solemn audience to the Grecian ambassadors, who came to present to him the vows of the nation for the success of his arms. The monarch thought proper to add to this ceremony games in honour of the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, whose hand he had bestowed

on the king of Epirus, the brother of Olympias, Philip himself formed a part of the spectacle, which commenced with a grand procession of the images of the twelve great deities of Greece. The image of the king, equally superb as the rest, next followed as a thirteenth divinity :—a presumption altogether contrary to what a herald proclaimed every day by his order : “ Philip, remember that “ thou art mortal.” In the last place, he himself appeared alone, clothed in white, with the crown on his head. His guards fell back, both to suffer him to be seen by the spectators, and to shew that he was not so much guarded by them as by the affection of the people. Pausanias took advantage of this kind of opening ; advanced towards the king ; drew forth a dagger from below his robe, and plunging it into his left side he fell dead at his feet. The assassin fled, and had already reached horses provided for his escape ; but having entangled himself among some vine twigs he stumbled, and being massacred, his death threw a veil of mystery over the assassination. It is still doubted whether this crime was that of a conspiracy, or merely of an individual, an enthusiast for honour and vengeance.

Philip was only forty-seven years of age when he died. His political talents are well known. He was affable and courteous in private life, and fond of saying obliging things. Having got up one day at a late hour he said, before his whole

court, rubbing his eyes—"I slept well last night; " but I knew that Antipater was awake." He could not deny himself the pleasure of a bon-mot when it occurred. Two men who had given up a city to him came to complain that his soldiers called them traitors. "Let them say what they please," returned he; "they are ill-bred fellows, accustomed to give to things their proper names." He was well acquainted also with the delicacies of decorum, and knew how to appreciate their value. Being one day seated on his tribunal, a slave, who observed that a certain part of his person was not sufficiently covered, signified to some of those around, that he wished to speak with the king in private. Being permitted to approach, he whispered to the monarch: "Sire, it would be more decent if you let your robe fall a little lower." "Set this man at liberty," said he, "I did not before know that he was one of my friends." If it were possible to deny that intemperance, which fills a court with the most scandalous actions, is an unpardonable vice in a prince, because it destroys morals, and that the ambition which causes the blood of the people to be shed is a crime, we might consider Philip as one of the most perfect monarchs that ever filled a throne. He left two children by each of his lawful wives, with several others by his women and concubines, and even one by a female dancer named Larissa.

Alexander,
2665.

We have a proof in Alexander, that it is possible to be a man, and a great man, at the age of twenty. This prince was no older when his father left him the kingdom of Macedonia. He had for governor Leonidas, a relation of the queen, whose manners were pure and austere. Lyfimachus, esteemed on account of his mildness and moderation, discharged the office of preceptor, and Aristotle gave him a more extensive taste for the arts and the sciences. From the poems of Homer, which he studied with great assiduity, he derived those exalted sentiments which distinguish the hero from the great prince; but it was from nature he received that genius which embraces the most immense objects, that accuracy of judgment which directs great enterprizes, and that discernment which teaches how to choose the properest means.

Alexander, when he ascended the throne, kept around him the generals and ministers of his father. He consulted them respecting public business; but when he had heard their opinions he decided alone, and executed speedily. On first assuming the government he had great difficulties to encounter. His own subjects, as well as foreigners, considered him as a child, incapable of accomplishing the vast projects of Philip. The Athenians, in particular, entertained this idea, and endeavoured to diffuse it abroad. One of the young king's first measures was to make himself be feared in his own court, by inflicting severe punish-

ment on a conspirator whom he had been advised to spare. He astonished the Macedonians, and gained the confidence of that warlike people by his brilliant success against the inhabitants of Thrace, a brave and obstinate nation. He pursued them amidst the greatest dangers, and compelled them to sue for peace. Their ambassadors having waited upon him at his camp, the young conqueror, elated on account of the high opinion which he supposed that these people had conceived of his military talents, and imagining that he should receive a flattering answer, asked what they feared most in the world. Their reply was: "We fear nothing but lest the sun and stars should fall upon our heads." Alexander, who was pleased with this haughtiness, entertained a greater esteem for them, and treated them with honour.

Alexander had just finished this glorious campaign, when he learned that all Greece was ready to attack his kingdom. This storm had been excited by the impetuous eloquence of Demosthenes, the ancient and irreconcilable enemy of Macedonia. Many states engaged in this league with the more readiness, as a report was spread that Alexander had been killed in his last expedition. On this report the Thebans, who in the life-time of Philip had been obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison into their citadel, enticed the two commandants to the market place, and put them to death. When

Alexander was informed of this event he marched against Thebes. "Demosthenes," said he, "in his harangues called me a child while I was establishing peace in Illyria; a youth while I was carrying on war in Thrace; but I will shew him below the ramparts of Athens that I am a full-grown man."

The city of Thebes made an obstinate defense; but this only tended to increase the severity of its fate. Alexander offered the inhabitants a general amnesty on condition of their delivering up the guilty. Being misled by their orators, they rejected this offer; and, like presumptuous republicans, even insulted the besiegers. Alexander took the city by assault; caused it to be rased to the foundation; ordered all the inhabitants who had escaped the massacre to be sold by public auction; and forbade the rights of hospitality, or any assistance to be given to the Thebans, who might save themselves by flight. He repented, it is said, of this severity, and afterwards treated with great mildness and humanity such of the fugitives as he could find.

This dreadful example struck a terror into the Greeks, and induced them to confer the chief command on him who had it in his power to assume it. The Athenians sent deputies to the conqueror, from whom they experienced a friendly reception; but he required that they should give up to him Demosthenes and eight other orators,

as the authors of all the troubles of Greece. He, however, suffered them to let the latter escape; but he pursued Demosthenes, who put an end to his existence by poison: the usual fate of factious leaders, if they do not perish by a more cruel death. It was at Corinth that Alexander received the generalship of all Greece. In that city he had an interview with Diogenes, who by the visit of this prince has acquired more celebrity perhaps than he deserved. Opinions may be divided in regard to the answer which he gave to the king of Macedonia, and the reflexion of the prince. The latter having asked the philosopher if there was any thing which he could do for him, the cynic replied: "I only wish you would stand a little aside, and not deprive me of the benefit of the sun." The courtiers were offended at this expression, which they considered as a mark of insolence; but Alexander, looking at them gravely, said: "Were I not Alexander I should wish to be Diogenes." Does this anecdote exhibit in Diogenes a laudable indifference for riches, or complacency in the pride of refusal? And was the monarch's reflexion the consequence of his admiration at the contempt of worldly grandeur, or of a desire to render himself illustrious in whatever manner he could?

Alexander when he set out on his grand expedition distributed among his soldiers and courtiers all his hereditary property, and gave to his friends

a variety of donations. Perdiccas, whom he wished to gratify with some present, having asked him what he would reserve for himself, he replied: "Hope." "Well," returned Perdiccas, refusing his present, "allow one of those who mean to participate in your dangers to share also in your hopes." When he passed through Delphi he was desirous of consulting the oracle; but the priestess refused to place herself on the tripod. On his attempting to force her, she said: "My son, you are invincible." "It is enough," replied Alexander, "I accept the omen." He overcame with no less dexterity the difficulty respecting the gordian knot, which he cut when he found himself incapable of untying it.

When he arrived at the ruins of Troy he caused victims to be sacrificed in honour of the heroes whose remains were deposited in the tombs around Ilium, and particularly of Achilles, from whom he pretended to derive his descent. "Achilles," said he, "was doubly happy in having such a friend as Patroclus, and such a poet as Homer to celebrate his exploits." Hephæstion, who was Alexander's favourite, making a secret allusion to the friendship of the king, crowned with flowers the tomb of Patroclus. In imitation of Agamemnon, who, like him, had been generalissimo of the Greeks, the Macedonian gave festivals to his army, and exhibited funeral games, at which he himself presided, always accompanied by a priest, or sooth-

fayer, who supplied near his person the place of Calchas.

After the passage of the Granicus, Alexander subjected Halicarnassus, which had been defended by Persians, to the same fate as Thebes. It was rased to the foundation, and reduced to ashes. The Marmarians, who inhabited a small city on the confines of Lycia, eluded the efforts of the conqueror; but in a manner exceedingly cruel. Having sustained two assaults, the old men exhorted them to surrender; but as they refused, they desired the young men to put them to death, together with their women and children, and then to force their way through the enemy. This advice was adopted. Each of the warriors repaired to his home, gave a feast to his wife and children, and after the repast, having shut the door of his house, set it on fire. When the conflagration became general, they cut their way through the Macedonian camp, and by these means escaped: a dreadful extremity, which throws as much guilt on those who were the causes of it, as on those by whom it was executed. As the young monarch was not yet at a very great distance from his kingdom, he sent back the Macedonians who had married in the course of the year to spend the winter with their wives. He then began to make a distribution of kingdoms. He restored to the throne a queen of Caria, named Ada, who had been displaced by a person under the protection of Darius.

As she had no other means of shewing her gratitude for this service, she sent Alexander some delicate viands, and made an offer of supplying him with excellent cooks. But Alexander replied: "My governor has provided me with "better cooks than any which you can procure. "Long marches in the morning give me a good "appetite for my dinner; and a slight repast at "dinner makes me enjoy my supper with double "relish."

A man who should visit as many countries as Alexander conquered, would be accounted a great traveller. From Macedonia he proceeded along the coast of the Mediterranean; advanced to Egypt; traversed the deserts of Lybia; visited the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulph; penetrated to India; attacked the Scythians; and explored the countries around the Caspian Sea, and the Palus Mœotus. In a word, he overran in every direction the interior part of that vast continent; taking towns, fighting battles, scaling rocks, braving both the intense cold of the mountains and the scorching heat of the plains; and enduring with patience, hunger, thirst, fatigue, pain, and wounds, at the head of an army, intrepid by his example, and like him invincible. Since opinion has attached the idea of heroism to the grandeur, number, and difficulty of exploits, we may say, that no man is a hero if Alexander be not entitled to that qualification; especially when we consider, that in the

short space of ten years he formed an empire more extensive than any that ever existed.

But our admiration is succeeded by a painful sentiment, a kind of indignation, when we ask what was the end and motive of these warlike expeditions. What madness to attack peaceable nations; to ravage their plains, burn their towns, and drag away their unfortunate inhabitants as captives. These sports of heroism deserve to be condemned by the eye of reason. In this point of view, Alexander was only a scourge, the remembrance of whom ought to be effaced from the annals of the world. His history ought to finish here, did it not present some features less disgusting than those sanguinary atrocities which have been called conquests.

It may readily be supposed that after the battle of Issus, Alexander would soon lose the austere manners of Macedonia, and become not insensible to the delicacies and luxury of Asia. When master of the camp of Darius he was fond of seeing himself surrounded by the pomp of the conquered monarch—"Let us go," said he, "and refresh ourselves in the bath of Darius." After enjoying the bath and a sumptuous repast; he was conducted into a magnificent apartment. Being struck with the splendour and riches which he saw displayed there in profusion, he could not help exclaiming with a kind of transport: "This is really being a king!" A like observation might

be made in regard of his journey to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. He exposed his army to the danger of perishing in the sand, merely that he might have the satisfaction of being declared the son of the deity who was worshipped in that sacred place. His mother Olympias was displeased that her son's vanity should revive old suspicions, which she rather wished to be forgotten: she therefore wrote to him, and begged that he would not involve her in a quarrel with Juno. Olympias resided in Macedonia, surrounded by every pleasure, but destitute of authority. Antipater, whom Alexander had left there as governor, found it extremely difficult to confine within the prescribed bounds a haughty and imperious mother, who was sure of her son's affection. Having one day complained to Alexander in a long letter, the monarch, after he had read it, said: "Antipater does not know that one single tear of a mother can efface a thousand such letters." He however still continued him as governor.

But his uneasiness respecting distant objects was nothing in comparison of that excited by a plot against his life, and the consequences it produced. A spirit of discontent; become contagious in his army among the chiefs, jealous of each other on account of the favours so lavishly conferred on them by the king, was communicated from them to the soldiers, who did not think themselves sufficiently rewarded. Alexander, when informed of

this mutinous disposition, only said: "It is the fate of kings to do good, and to incur blame." But among the malcontents there was one man of more daring courage, who did not confine himself to murmurs. He formed a design of assassinating Alexander, and communicated his intention to some of his friends. The secret thus confidentially circulated, was told to a man, who being frightened at the project, waited upon Philotas, the son of Parmenio, revealed to him the plot, and begged him to procure an audience of the king. Philotas put off the informer from time to time for three days; but the latter addressed himself to another, who communicated the affair to Alexander. The indifference which Philotas had shewn in regard to the discovery, and his delaying to inform the king of it, gave the latter great uneasiness. When Philotas was interrogated on the subject, he replied, that the plan had appeared to him so badly concerted, that he considered it as impossible to be carried into execution; and that on this account he had thought it improper to alarm the king. Alexander admitted, or seemed to admit, this excuse, and he even invited Philotas to his table.

This officer was a brave and generous man, and distinguished by his liberality towards his friends. One of them, it is said, having come to borrow a sum of money from him, his steward replied: "that he had not in his hands enough for that pur-

“pose.” Upon which Philotas said : “ Have you
“ not my plate and clothes ? Sell them all, rather
“ than suffer one of my friends to be in want.” In
other respects he was haughty and proud, exceedingly vain of his merit, and imprudent in his expressions, if it be true as related, that he one day said—“ What would Philip have been without
“ Parmenio ?” His father alarmed, therefore, by his aspiring disposition, and foreseeing his fall, said to him : “ My son, make thyself little.”

As envious persons are never wanting in courts, Philotas, being of such a character, could not fail to become an object of their malicious insinuations. They revived therefore the suspicions of Alexander, who caused him to be seized, and put to the rack. He confessed the conspiracy, named his accomplices, and even accused his father ; but when carried before the tribunal of the army, according to the Macedonian custom, he retracted his confession, which he said had been extorted from him by the severity of his torture. He was, however, condemned and executed. Whether the king believed Parmenio to be guilty, or thought it dangerous to suffer him to survive his son, he sent assassins to put him to death in his government, where he lived retired and in peace.

Every body was not convinced of the guilt of Philotas, and Alexander was still less forgiven on account of the death of his father. It was supposed, that as the prince had resolved to claim,

marks of honour which the Macedonian pride could not endure, he with pleasure embraced this opportunity to get rid of those who might have opposed his designs. Some events which afterwards take place seemed too much to confirm this suspicion.

Alexander's court had become extremely brilliant by the concourse of great lords, princes, and even kings, who came to solicit his favour. The mind of the monarch was poisoned by their flattery, while he was charmed with their excessive praise and adoration. He was offended at not being treated with the same marks of respect by the Macedonians. The latter, on the other hand, the more they beheld him abandoned to Persian effeminacy, and listening to adulation, which raised him above human nature, the more they endeavoured to recal him to the austerity of his early habits, and to make him banish from his heart the leaven of pride which fermented in it. They indeed might have been successful, had they possessed the art of mixing with their remonstrances those blandishments calculated to heal his wounded spirit.

But military openness is a stranger to such arts. Clitus, a veteran who had saved Alexander's life at the battle of Granicus, being at table with the king, and hearing him extolled above Castor and Pollux, and even Hercules, could not contain his indignation. He started up, therefore, and said :

“ I cannot bear such ridiculous language, by which
“ you insult the gods, while you depreciate an-
“ cient heroes in order to tickle the ears of a
“ living prince.” He added other severe ex-
pressions, which threw Alexander into a violent
passion. The king called for his guards to
seize him; but as no one appeared, he became
quite furious, and cried out: “ I am now in the
“ same condition as Darius in the hands of Bessus;
“ I have nothing but the empty title of king;”
and at the same time snatching up a pike belong-
ing to one of his guards, run Clytus through the
body, and laid him dead on the spot. The crime
was no sooner committed than passion gave way
to repentance. Alexander deplored his misfortune
with loud cries of lamentation; shut himself up
in his apartment; refused all nourishment; and
could be prevented from destroying himself only
by the prayers and entreaties of his whole army.
He had still the misfortune, on this occasion, to
be secured against remorse by the flattery and spe-
cious reasoning of a sophist, named Anaxarchus;
who addressed him as follows: “ Is this then the
“ Alexander to whom the eyes of the whole
“ world are directed? He melts into tears like
“ a weak man who has become a slave to the
“ opinions of the vulgar. Ought he who is a su-
“ preme law to his subjects to dread the reproach
“ of any person upon earth? Have you forgot
“ that Jupiter is represented sitting on his throne

“ with law on the one side, and justice on the
“ other, to shew that the actions of a sovereign
“ are always just and lawful?” O flatterers! ye
poisoners of kings! ye scourges of the people! ex-
claims, with a proper sentiment of indignation, the
historian of Alexander.

These odious principles soon extinguished in
Alexander's mind every emotion of repentance.
An idea was even entertained of making the Ma-
cedonians kneel before the king in the same man-
ner as the Persians. This plan was concerted by
some of the mean courtiers, poets, cringing para-
sites, sophists, and those men who barter dignity
of mind for the favour of the great. They re-
solved that Alexander should be a god, and that
he should receive divine honours. This proposal
was made at table by the same shameless flatterer
Anaxarchus. Callisthenes, the friend of Aristotle,
who had been attached to Alexander from infancy,
seeing that the Macedonians, thrown into great
consternation by this proposal, observed profound
silence, began an harangue, in which he drew a
distinction between the honours due to the gods
and those which belong to men, however great
they may be: “ Temples, altars, libations, sacri-
“ fices, and hymns,” said he, “ to the former ;
“ praises to the latter. Have not the gods,” add-
ed he, “ just cause to be incensed when the ho-
“ nours of adoration are offered to humble mor-
“ tals? They were not bestowed upon Hercules

“ till after his death ; till prescribed by the oracle
“ of Delphi. O, Alexander, never forget Greece!
“ When you return thither, can you compel free
“ men to adore you as a god. If you object, in
“ reply, that Cyrus was adored by his subjects,
“ and that since that period this custom has pre-
“ vailed in regard to the monarch of the Medes
“ and Persians, whose place you now occupy, re-
“ collect how the Scythians, a poor and barba-
“ rous people, reproved his chimerical pride; how
“ other Scythians obliged Darius himself to ac-
“ knowledge that he was only a man. Were not
“ Xerxes and Artaxerxes, kings honoured as gods
“ by their subjects, both seen to fly before the
“ Grecian armies ? and did not Darius lately do
“ the same before Alexander ?”

The king's pride was greatly hurt when he heard this bold and manly address ; but he did not choose, or was afraid, to carry matters too far with the Macedonians who were his guests. A kind of accommodation took place, in consequence of which it was determined, that those to whom the king drank should rise up, and after saluting him, approach to receive a kiss. This ceremony was first complied with by some of the Persian lords, who saluted Alexander by adoration, according to the custom of their country. Some of the Macedonians, however, avoided it ; and others turned it openly into ridicule. “ Hit it a little harder,” said a Macedonian to a Persian, who as he pro-

strated himself touched the ground with his forehead. Callisthenes, when it came to his turn, would not throw himself prostrate, and therefore when he advanced to receive his kiss, Alexander pushed him back; which made Callisthenes say, as he went out—"I have lost only a kiss." But he paid dearly afterwards for this sarcasm.

Those who endeavour to vindicate Alexander say that he was not so void of sense as to consider himself a god; and they even quote an expression that escaped from him during the pain which he experienced by the dressing of a wound: "I am called the son of Jupiter, but my wound tells me I am a man." They assert, therefore, that his design was to familiarize the Greeks to the Persian manners, in order that they might form only one people; and that with the same view he caused the young Persians to be instructed in the Macedonian tactics: but this intention was a crime in the eyes of conquerors, who were filled with indignation to think that an idea was entertained of raising the conquered to the same rank as themselves. This disposition of mind enabled one of his guards, named Hermolaus, to find accomplices to assist him in avenging a private injury.

Alexander's conduct towards this young man had been highly criminal. The latter, seeing a boar one day rushing towards the king, ran up, and pierced him with his lance. The king, in-

censured because the precipitation of one of his guards had deprived him of an opportunity of displaying his courage and address, caused him to be publicly scourged, and his horse to be taken from him. His companions, who were witnesses of this degrading insult, participated in his feelings, so that it was not difficult to make them share in his resentment. They agreed to dispatch the king in his sleep ; and it was owing merely to an unforeseen accident that the crime was not committed.

In Alexander's camp there was a Syrian woman who pretended to foretel future events ; but she uttered her predictions in so strange and ridiculous a manner that she was generally considered as a fool. As her prophecies, however, had sometimes been justified by the event, the king, whose mind was tinctured with superstition, wished that she might at all times have access to him. On the night which the conspirators had marked out for the execution of their design, Alexander, having drank pretty late with his friends, was retiring to his apartment, but the Syrian threw herself in his way, and as if agitated by some convulsive movement desired him to return, and to spend the whole night in drinking. The king immediately obeyed ; and the conspirators being thus disconcerted one of them revealed the plot.

Hermolaus and his accomplices being arrested, he addressed his judges in the following words :

“ A man of a firm and courageous mind could
“ not suffer, without a desire of vengeance, the in-
“ dignities to which I have been subjected by the
“ king ; but I am not the only object of his un-
“ just passion. My country has been insulted in
“ the most cruel manner. The unfortunate Phi-
“ lotas was condemned to death, though no satis-
“ factory evidence of his guilt had been produced.
“ Is there the smallest pretence for justifying the
“ assassination of Parmenio ? How many victims
“ have been sacrificed on mere suspicion ? It is
“ not long since we saw Clitus massacred in the
“ midst of an entertainment ; the manners and
“ dress of the Greeks exchanged for those of the
“ Medes and Persians ; and edicts issued to com-
“ pel us to adore as a god a man abandoned
“ to drunkenness and luxury, and to other vices
“ as shameful to himself as fatal to his subjects.
“ It was to give liberty to the Macedonians and
“ myself that I wished to put to death so odious
“ a tyrant.” These words, which were rather a
recrimination than a defense, hastened the sentence
against Hermolaus and his accomplices. He was
stoned to death by the soldiers. Callisthenes, as
having had a share in the conspiracy, was at the
same time arrested ; but it appears that there were
only presumptive proofs against him on account
of his being a friend of Hermolaus. His real
crime, however, was the high estimation in which
he was held, and which gave him great influence

with the Macedonian youth, whom he was suspected of inspiring with sentiments contrary to the wish of the king respecting divine honours. It is uncertain in what manner he was put to death; but it must have been cruel, since there is little difference between being tortured and affixed to a cross, or dragged about loaded with irons in the train of the army in an open carriage, in which he is said to have died.

Alexander's character after this period appears to have become much more severe. He seemed to have no other pleasure than that of ravaging, subduing, and destroying wherever he experienced resistance. He employed fire and sword to accomplish his purposes; delighted in danger, and exposed himself to it with a kind of heedless fury. Temerity, indeed, often procured him unexpected success; because his soldiers, animated by his example, and afraid of suffering him to perish, made the most uncommon efforts. It was by forcing his way through such dangers that he arrived on the frontiers of India, where he found two kings, whose conduct deserves praise, according to the kind of merit that may be most esteemed. Those who set the highest value on that dignified pride called magnanimity, will admire Porus, who had the courage to resist the impetuosity of Alexander. Those who prize the milder virtues, with that insinuating policy so useful to the people, will prefer Taxiles, who opened his states to the torrent,

and suffered it to flow off without the least damage to his kingdom. "Why," said he to Alexander, "should I suffer my subjects to be destroyed, since you have no design to deprive us of our fruits and our water, the only things necessary for the preservation of life, and consequently those only for the defense of which we ought to expose ourselves to battle? In regard to those things which in general are called riches, if I have more than you, it will give me pleasure if you accept of a share. On the other hand, if your riches are superior to mine, I shall not be so proud as to refuse being under an obligation to you, nor so base as to repay your kindness with ingratitude." Alexander, affected by the liberality of the Indian monarch, received him into his friendship, and suffered his subjects to enjoy peace. Porus called forth his forces, fought, and was defeated; lost two sons in battle, was himself wounded, and would have seen his kingdom ravaged had it not been for the generosity of the conqueror, who made a point of behaving in a manner suitable to the noble pride of the vanquished foe. "How do you wish to be treated?" said Alexander. "As a king," replied Porus. Alexander not only restored to him his dominions, but added other provinces to them, and by these means acquired a faithful ally.

Always inflamed with the ardour of conquest,

Alexander still meditated new exploits. It might have been said that he was resolved not to stop, but at the extremities of the world. His soldiers, however, were not of the same disposition. Instead of looking forwards to other victories, they only wished to quit these distant climes in order to return to their own country. When they became acquainted with Alexander's designs, a spirit of discontent began to manifest itself in the army. "Are we then made of iron," said they, "to endure the fatigue which awaits us? We are treated like dogs who are fed to be let loose on those whom their masters wish to be torn to pieces. No—we will advance no farther; for those must be fools who condescend to sacrifice their lives to please the caprice of one man." The monarch when informed of these murmurs harangued his army; held forth to them such incitements to glory as seemed likely to animate their courage, and entreated them after conquering Asia not to lay down their arms till they had subdued the universe. He possessed eloquence, and was beloved by his soldiers; but his speech produced no effect, and they observed a gloomy silence.

They, however, turned their eyes towards one of their officers, named Cœnus, whose merit was well known to the whole army, and also to the king himself. Affected by the dejection of his soldiers, he had the generosity to plead their cause.

He represented to the king that men never resolved to expose themselves to great fatigue, but in the hopes of one day enjoying the sweets of peace: "Your army," said he, "has decreased in number; and almost all those who compose it can with difficulty sustain the weight of their arms. Deign, therefore, to consider them as invalids. They hope from your goodness that, in consideration of their former services, you will conduct them back to their country. There you will find young men, who, excited by the example of your bravery, will be ready to follow you in any new expeditions which you may wish to undertake."

This speech was by no means agreeable to Alexander. He dissolved the assembly; and in another, convoked next day, declared that he was resolved to advance with such of his soldiers as would consent to follow him. "Let those," said he, "who are so fond of their native country return to Macedonia. Go, soldiers, and tell that you left your king in the midst of his enemies." This attempt was equally fruitless. As no one offered to follow him, Alexander, in the utmost distress, retired to his tent; where he remained two days without suffering his most intimate friends to approach him. On the third day he appeared with a grave and gloomy countenance, and having ordered a sacrifice, the *hauruspex* pronounced that the omens were not favourable. "We must then

“ return,” said the king, “ since the gods and
“ my army require that I should advance no
“ farther.” From a state of the deepest sadness,
the army proceeded to the utmost transports of
joy. They then saluted the king with loud accla-
mations, crying out that, “ though invincible to
“ the rest of the world, he had suffered himself
“ to be overcome by their prayers.” The discon-
tent of a whole army expressed in their counte-
nances, without threats, without insolent com-
plaints, and with respectful firmness; the sensibility
of the soldiers, grieved at being obliged to displease
their general, and their joy on recovering his
favour; all form striking features in an event more
glorious, perhaps, for Alexander than even his
most splendid victories.

He put himself at their head to return; but he
did not conduct them by the shortest route, nor
that freeest from danger and fatigue. Even when
retreating he sought out nations to combat and
subdue. He exposed himself to the danger of
losing his life in a town belonging to the Oxy-
dracæ, by jumping among the enemy from the
top of the walls, which he had scaled, and was
with difficulty delivered wounded and half dead.
His march was long and laborious. The soldiers
were exposed to great suffering, sometimes from
a scarcity of provisions, sometimes from the want
of water, and sometimes from both. One sultry
day, after being exposed to the scorching sun, in a

fandy plain, while the whole army were tormented with thirst, a little muddy water was brought to the king, in the hollow of a buckler, as a most valuable present. He received it with gratitude, and poured it out on the ground, in the view of his soldiers: a painful extremity! but an encouraging example of self-denial!

In passing through those places which he had already traversed when he subdued them, Alexander examined the conduct of the governors; punished some, and rewarded others; enquired how justice had been administered, and what was the state of the finances; gave orders for embellishing the cities, traced out highways, caused bridges to be constructed, and in every thing displayed a superior knowledge of government.

The nearer he approached to Babylon, where it is supposed he intended to fix his residence, the more he endeavoured, we may say, to incorporate the Persians with the Macedonians, in order to form of both one nation. With this view he espoused two princesses of the blood-royal, one of whom, named Statira, was the daughter of Darius: another Persian lady of great beauty, named Roxana, he had married before. He gave in marriage to Hephaestion another daughter of Darius. This example was imitated by his favourites, for whom about eighty young women were selected from the noblest of the Persian families. All these marriages took place on the

same day. The king loaded them all with presents, as well as his soldiers, who had taken Persian wives to the number of ten thousand. He also discharged their debts: offices were established where the money was paid without any enquiries, lest shame, on account of the manner in which the debt was contracted, might prevent the creditor from demanding what was due to him. In compliance with the general wish of the army, he decreed golden crowns to those who had distinguished themselves most in the course of the expedition; and he reviewed, with great satisfaction, thirty thousand young Persians, who had been trained by his order to the military exercises. They were distinguished by the name of *Epigoni*; that is, successors.

This title was exceedingly impolitic, as it gave the Macedonians reason to suspect, that if they excited any discontent, or wished to retire, there were troops ready to supply their place. They openly expressed their suspicion when the king, after settling the affairs of Persia, was desirous, before he returned to Macedonia, to form a kind of select army, by disbanding part of his troops. For this purpose he caused a proclamation to be made, that those unwilling to serve, on account of age, wounds, infirmity, or any other reason, were at liberty to retire; but that he would reward in the noblest manner those who should continue their service. A great part of the army, jealous on ac-

count of the favours conferred on the Persians, declared they would return. "Since it is the barbarians alone," said they, "who enjoy your favour, let them assist you to subdue the world;" and some of them insolently added: "You may carry on war if you choose with your father Ammon; as for us, we are resolved to serve you no longer."

When Alexander heard this speech he started from his throne, caused the ringleaders of the mutiny, whom he pointed out, to be seized, and ordered thirteen of them to be punished. The rest were so intimidated that they observed silence. Having said a few words to them respecting their ingratitude he retired to his tent, where he remained two days without suffering himself to be seen. On the third day he appeared; admitted the Persians, became his relations by alliance, to kiss his hand, and conferred on them the principal posts in his army. A report was at the same time spread, that he intended to disband his Macedonian guards, and to supply their place by a body of Persians. The guards who were threatened with this mark of disgrace flocked around the royal tent, and offered to give up the authors of the revolt. As they found that they received no answer, they threw their arms on the ground, and protested that they would not retire until they had obtained pardon. Alexander at length came forth from his tent, and seeing their repentance could not refrain

from tears. The soldiers were so much affected that they could not speak; but, after a few moments of silence, Callines, an officer of distinction, addressed him as follows: "O king, your Macedonians are filled with the utmost grief; because, excluding us from your favour, you have treated the Persians as your relations, and have permitted them to kiss your hand." The king replied: "You are all my relations; and I am resolved that as such you shall in future be my guards." He then presented his hand to the Macedonians to be kissed; and afterwards gave a solemn feast, at which eight thousand persons were present. He caused the Macedonians to sit next to his own person, then the Persians, and after these the soldiers of other nations. This numerous assembly drank, from one golden cup, to the prosperity and union of all the states over which Alexander was sovereign.

Under these favourable auspices, and with the hope of a reign rendered happy by general concord, Alexander arrived at Babylon, where he formed three vast projects. The first was, to drain the marshes which surrounded that city; the second, to render the Euphrates and the Tigris navigable, and to construct a basin capable of containing a thousand galleys; and the third, to invade Arabia. While occupied with these projects, he superintended himself the engineers whom he had invited to undertake the draining of the

marshes ; a voyage which he made on the river Euphrates procured him the necessary knowledge respecting the navigation which he wished to establish ; and he received from the provinces fresh recruits, or rather troops already formed, of whom he composed the army destined against Arabia. While every thing proceeded in the most prosperous train, he was attacked by a disorder, which had every symptom of a violent fever. He, however, struggled against the malady, still continuing to assist at the sacrifices, and to indulge with his friends in the joys of the bottle ; and these used at an improper time were no doubt the real poison which shortened his days, though others have been suspected, but without any proof. When the soldiers, accustomed to his presence, no longer saw him in public, they were filled with the utmost grief. It was an affecting spectacle to behold these veterans approaching, with timidity and respect, the bed, where the monarch, after acquiring such great glory at an early period of life, was lying in the last pangs of death. Though already surrounded by its dismal veil, the voice and aspect of his companions in arms seemed for a moment to revive him. He raised himself on his elbow, stretched out his trembling-hand, which they kissed with every sentiment of grief, and expired almost in their arms, at the age of thirty-two. The preparations for his funeral continued two years. He ordered his body, it is said, to be in-

tered in the temple of Jupiter Ammon; but Ptolemy Lagus, then master of Egypt, through which it was necessary that the funeral convoy should pass, prevented it from proceeding thither, and caused a magnificent tomb to be erected for the remains of the monarch in the city of Alexandria, which he had founded.

However extraordinary the actions of Alexander may have been, there were some authors who thought proper to magnify them even in his lifetime. So much are flattery and exaggeration natural to man! On hearing some accounts written by one of these authors, which were read to him, he turned to Lyfimachus, one of his generals, who had always attended him, and said: "Where was I then when I performed such great exploits? I could wish," added he, "to return after my death, to hear what posterity will say of these tales." That posterity, whose opinion he was so desirous of knowing, contenting itself with what is true or probable, has confirmed his reputation, by every-where holding him up as one of the most astonishing men that ever existed, and making his name a title of praise for warriors.

It is not known in what manner Alexander disposed of his states at his death; nor whether he made any regulations on that subject. At any rate he seems to have doubted that his wishes would be respected, since he said: "My funeral will be attended with blood." By Barsina he had a son

named Hercules, who lived only a short time. The beautiful Roxana was delivered of another posthumous son, who was named Alexander. He had still alive a brother, named Aridæus, born by the dancer Philine; and another called Ptolemy, who never assumed that title, but who was really his brother, since his mother Arsinoë, one of Philip's mistresses, was pregnant when Philip gave her in marriage to Lagus. Alexander had likewise a brother named Caraunus, son of Cleopatra, the rival of Olympias; and a sister named Thexa, who afterwards married Cassander. This genealogy is necessary for understanding what follows.

Alexander, when he died, gave his ring to Perdiccas, one of his most intimate and confidential friends. This favour might have been considered as a right to the crown; but Perdiccas had the modesty, or rather the policy, to make it merely a right of giving protection to the royal family, which was considered as consisting only of Aridæus, until it should be known what child Roxana would bring into the world. Except a little confusion, which must always take place on any sudden event of the like kind, a sufficient degree of concord prevailed among the generals. They divided the provinces among themselves, as governors, under the inspection of Perdiccas, who presided over the partition, as protector; but this title was merely illusory. Perdiccas, full of ambition, confined Aridæus, while he appeared to

Alexander's
successors.

defend him. This prince, weak both in body and mind, had been advised to solicit the support of Meleager, who commanded the Macedonian phalanx. Perdicas, jealous of every authority which he could not control, caused Meleager to be assassinated at the foot of the altar, where he had taken shelter. This was the first crime he committed. The second was the murder of Statira and Drypetis, the two last wives of Alexander, whom he caused to be dispatched at the solicitation of Roxana, who was afraid they might be pregnant. The third was the massacre of a body of Greek mercenaries, consisting of twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, who believing themselves freed from service by the death of Alexander were returning peaceably to their country. The fourth, the assassination of Cynane, the sister of Alexander, who had come to propose the marriage of her daughter Ada or Eurydice with Aridaeus. Notwithstanding the death of the mother, the marriage took place. Perdicas had nearly committed a fifth crime by putting to death Antigonus, by whose merit he was obscured; but the latter had time to save himself, and fled to Antipater in Macedonia. None of those esteemed by Alexander, except Eumenes, his secretary, a man of great merit, who was as expert in the field as able in the cabinet, remained with Perdicas; and he even attached himself to the protector only because he believed him to be

sincerely devoted to the royal family. To secure the friendship of Eumenes still more, Perdiccas went himself at the head of an army to put him in possession of Cappadocia, which he gave him under the name of a government, after having put to death Ariarthes the king.

Perdiccas issued all his orders and distributed kingdoms under the name of Aridaeus and the young Alexander of whom Roxana had been delivered; but every body knew that this was only a feint, in order that he might attain with more certainty to the empire. As his plans did not remain a secret, they caused all those who dreaded his ambition to unite against him. On the other hand, Perdiccas resolved, that he might prevent all surprize, to strike the first blow, which he directed against Ptolemy, the most powerful of his rivals, who had been appointed governor of Egypt by Alexander himself; being persuaded that if he pulled him down, the rest would fall of themselves. This prince, by his wisdom, clemency, and justice, maintained Egypt in a state of profound peace. He had fortified himself in that country, so that Perdiccas when he came to attack him found him in a formidable state of defense. There was this difference between the two generals, that Ptolemy, being of a mild, insinuating disposition, was beloved by his soldiers; while Perdiccas had alienated the affection of his troops by unbecoming haughtiness. A bloody battle took place in Egypt,

Ptolemy,
2678.

on the banks of the Nile, in which the Macedonian phalanx experienced great loss. As the soldiers ascribed their misfortune to the bad disposition of Perdiccas, they hurried to his tent, and dispatched him.

Perdiccas was succeeded by two tutors, or protectors; but they were thwarted in their views by Eurydice, the wife of Aridæus. It appears that she wished to free her husband from the shackles of guardianship, and as she began to gain influence among the troops, the tutors opposed to him Antipater, who assumed alone the authority of protector. Antipater made a new partition of the provinces. Ptolemy was continued in the possession of Egypt; Seleucus had the government of Babylon; Antipater, Susiana; Cassander, Caria; and Antigonus, Phrygia, with the command of the king's household troops. These are the principal generals who established thrones on the ruins of that of Alexander.

Eumenes.

Antigonus was the first who shewed by his conduct that he would not long remain a subject. He collected around him, by his liberality, the best of Alexander's soldiers, and composed an army entirely devoted to his service. Polyperchon having succeeded Antipater, who was now dead, in the office of protector, formed a kind of crusade of all the governors and commanders, whom he invited to defend the royal family against Antigonus; and he placed at the head of his army

Eumenes, whose attachment to that family was well known. Polyperchon to the title of general, conferred on Eumenes, wished to add riches, honours, and dignities; but the latter replied: "The man who is desirous of remaining faithful to his sovereign has no need of great wealth, or titles of distinction."

Two campaigns, in which these two great generals displayed their talents, and every resource of the military art, were terminated by a decisive battle. Antigonus could depend upon his army, but that of Eumenes, consisting in a great measure of foldiers whose chiefs had united merely through a point of honour, had no great attachment to his cause. All did justice to the merit and talents of Eumenes; and for that reason they thought him necessary in the moment of battle; but as he excited their jealousy they resolved to get rid of him when the affair was decided, whatever should be the event, in order that they might at their pleasure put an end to the war, of which they considered him to be the instigator and principal support. As Eumenes was aware of this horrid plot he might have saved himself by retiring into Capadocia; but he reflected that to renounce the command would be abandoning the family of Alexander, and on that account he determined to perish rather with glory.

When he had formed this resolution he went forth from his tent, and exhorted the foldiers to

perform their duty. The greater part of them, being unacquainted with the treachery of their chiefs, replied by the loudest acclamations of joy. Eumenes seemed affected by these testimonies of attachment; but he could not help saying to his friends around him, that he lived among ferocious animals by whom he would one day be devoured. The battle was not decisive; but it gave rise to an event which was more fatal to Eumenes than a defeat. During the combat, Antigonus detached a part of his cavalry by a circuitous way, surprized the enemies camp, and carried off the women and children, with a considerable booty. The chief part of the loss fell upon the Argyraspides, some of Alexander's soldiers who were distinguished by this name, because he had given them bucklers of silver. When these soldiers found themselves deprived of what they most esteemed, and of all the fruits of their labour, they were thrown into a violent rage, and attempted to massacre their generals. Tentamenus, their commander, suspended their fury by representing to them, that, in consequence of the ancient connection which subsisted between him and Antigonus, he hoped he should be able to induce him to restore the booty. A deputation was accordingly sent to him, and he replied that he would readily restore it provided they would deliver up Eumenes.

Eumenes, being a good speaker, harangued the soldiers; and having represented to them the in-

justice of their conduct, the fatal consequences it would occasion, and the infamy they were about to bring upon themselves, added: "Put me to death rather than deliver me into the hands of Antigonus, my old enemy as well as yours." This speech had just begun to produce some effect on their minds, when the Argyraspides cried out: "Let us have done with these fine speeches, unless we are willing to lose our wives and children;" and they immediately conducted him to the camp of the enemy. Those to whom he was delivered having asked in what manner he wished to be treated, he replied: "As an elephant or a lion." Two opinions prevailed in the council of Antigonus respecting the fate of this illustrious captive. Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, supported by the young men of the army, wished that his life might be saved, provided he would promise not to act any longer for the royal family. On the other hand, his father's friends, and the politicians, were strongly inclined to think that they ought to get rid of a man who was the only person perhaps capable of crossing the designs of Antigonus. While the matter was under discussion, the latter caused his prisoner to be treated with every possible mark of respect. He allowed him to be attended by his own domestics, and to be visited by his friends. Eumenes, however, became uneasy on account of the uncertainty in which he was left respecting his fate. "I am

“astonished,” said he, “that Antigonus should
“suffer me to remain so long in confinement; and
“that he has not the courage either to put me to
“death as his enemy, or to compel me to be-
“come his friend by restoring me to liberty.”
He was soon freed from this uncertainty. That
resolution which was the least generous being
adopted, he was executed in prison; but his fu-
neral was celebrated in a magnificent manner by
Antigonus and his whole army. His ashes were
inclosed in a silver urn, which was sent to his wife
and children in Cappadocia: a splendid testimony
of esteem and respect to the memory of a man
who fell a victim to the attachment which he shew-
ed to the family of his benefactor.

Antigonus was a gloomy politician, who coolly
calculated in his closet the advantages which were
likely to arise from a murder committed at a fa-
vourable moment. Cunning, dissimulation, and
insincerity, cost him nothing, provided he could
circumvent those whom he wished to get rid of;
and he deferred the execution of his plans till
the most favourable opportunity. In one of his ar-
mies stationed at a distance on the frontiers was a
man named Pithon, whom he suspected of a design
to render himself independent. A great many
more entertained the same opinion, and openly
spoke of it at court. Antigonus, however, seem-
ed to take up his cause with warmth, and forbade
any one to speak ill of a man whom he esteemed;

adding, that instead of giving credit to these calumnies, he had destined for him the command in Upper Asia, the most beautiful of his governments. When Pithon was informed of this disposition, he readily obeyed the king's order, recalling him to court; but he had scarcely arrived when Antigonus caused him to be accused of high treason in a council of war. In one day he was tried, condemned, and executed. The following is another instance of his cruelty. Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, having determined to bestow her hand on Ptolemy, had set out to meet him; but Antigonus fearing that this marriage would convey some rights to the governor of Egypt, caused her to be arrested at Sardis, and gave orders for her being put to death. The crime was committed by the ladies who attended on this princess. Antigonus afterwards declared that it was perpetrated without his knowledge; caused the women who had been the instruments of his barbarity to be beheaded, and celebrated the funeral of Cleopatra with the utmost magnificence.

There was a very striking contrast between Antigonus and his son Demetrius. The latter, humane and merciful, was of a candid and open disposition, and well known to be so incapable of perfidy or treachery, that his father, notwithstanding his gloomy temper, lived with him in the most intimate confidence, and prided himself in doing so. Demetrius had free access to his father at all

times, and even with his arms, which at that period was rarely suffered. Antigonus made some ambassadors, to whom he was giving audience, take notice of this circumstance, and said : “ You will “ be careful to tell your masters in what manner “ I and my son live.” These ambassadors were those of Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, with whom Antigonus shared almost the whole of the empire of Alexander. He had reserved to himself Asia ; Ptolemy retained Egypt ; Macedonia was assigned to Cassander ; and Thrace to Lyfimachus : and the Grecian cities were allowed to preserve their liberty. This arrangement, according to the strict spirit of their treaty, was only provisional ; as these generals acknowledged themselves to be merely depositories of the power assigned to each until the family of Alexander should be in a state to maintain their rights : but this shadow of deference soon vanished ; and each assumed the title of king in the districts which had been committed to his care.

Antigonus
and Deme-
trius, 2698.

Antigonus, after he declared himself king, treated the people much better than he had done before ; and the reason he assigned for his conduct was, that he wished to preserve with good-will what he had acquired by force. But in regard to taxes he was far from being so moderate as Alexander. To some remonstrances which were made on this subject he replied : “ Alexander collected “ the harvest of Asia ; as for me I only glean.”

The following circumstance will show that he was fond of justice. Having to decide a cause in which his brother was concerned, the latter requested him to hear the case in private, that he might not be exposed, perhaps, to the shame of a condemnation. "Brother," said the monarch with firmness, "I will hear you in public ; because I ought to administer justice without any distinction of persons." He lived peaceably in the bosom of his family, and was beloved by his wife and children, for whom he entertained the tenderest affection. To the apothegms, or memorable sayings, of Antigonus may be added the following : During a journey, his son having been quartered at the house of a widow who had three daughters of uncommon beauty, he sent for the quartermaster, and said to him—"Friend, have the goodness, I beg of you, to extricate my son from his dangerous situation."

The new kings, established either in the hereditary states of Alexander or the conquered countries, were soon involved in war with each other. The uncertainty of their rights and limits afforded sufficient motives for hostilities ; but Antigonus was particularly excited against Ptolemy by a spirit of revenge, because he had afforded an asylum and protection to Seleucus. The latter, though only governor of Babylon, having inspired Antigonus with fear, he wished to get him arrested ; but Seleucus saved himself by flying to Egypt. The

soothfayers foretold to Antigonus that the fugitive would become a dangerous enemy to him ; and the prophesy was indeed accomplished through the fault, perhaps, of Antigonus ; for Seleucus, incensed by the obstinacy with which Antigonus persecuted him, was of great service to Ptolemy in assisting him to repel Antigonus, and afterwards formed a league of all the princes and satraps whose states were threatened by the ambition of that monarch.

Battle of
Ipsus,
2698.

Lyfimachus and Seleucus on the one side, and Antigonus with his son Demetrius on the other, each at the head of a powerful army, met near Ipsus in the plains of Phrygia. The fate of Asia depended on the battle which was about to take place. It was exceedingly bloody, as might be expected where the chiefs possessed equal talents, while the troops were equally well trained to war. Victory, however, declared for Seleucus, and Antigonus, wounded in several places, died in the field of battle, at the age of eighty-four. Demetrius fled with a few attendants, and escaped to Greece ; but he was exceedingly unfortunate, as he experienced marks of humiliation from the republic of Athens, which had been lavish of its flattery to him while he enjoyed prosperity.

Seleucus by one blow was thus rendered master of all Asia ; and Demetrius found himself reduced to Cilicia, his only asylum ; and that even he obtained by surprize. While he was wandering about

on the coasts of Greece, maintaining his small army on plunder, Seleucus, who had stripped him of his dominions, demanded in marriage his daughter Stratonice, a princess of great beauty; and he procured for him, at the same time, Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy. Being brother-in-law of the king of Asia, and son-in-law of that of Egypt, it might be believed that Demetrius would have acquired some crown by his alliances; but being involved in a quarrel with Seleucus on account of certain pretensions, and as Ptolemy beheld him with indifference, his army still became his resource.

Two competitors being at this time engaged in a dispute respecting Macedonia, Demetrius was invited by Alexander, the son of Cassander, who was one of them, to come to his assistance. While Demetrius was on his march, the two rivals settled the contest by an accommodation; and Alexander becoming afraid of Demetrius went to meet him, in order to prevent him from entering his territories. It was, however, too late: Demetrius advanced; and as Alexander did not know in what other manner he could get rid of him, he determined to employ assassination. He accordingly gave orders for this purpose; but Demetrius discovering the plan, fell upon Alexander's guards with the choice of his troops, and killed the prince in the middle of them. "We have anticipated you by one day," cried the Macedonians. Alex.

ander's army now waited in expectation of being attacked by Demetrius; but it was agreeably surprized when Demetrius requested leave to vindicate his conduct in regard to the death of the king. He pleaded his cause so well, that the soldiers with one voice proclaimed him sovereign of Macedonia.

Demetrius being again raised to a throne, began to think of recovering that of Asia, from which he had been expelled. He is entitled to the honour of having caused to be constructed ships of a size, strength, and magnificence, before unknown. His preparations gave notice to those whom he wished to attack to anticipate his designs. They excited enemies against him on all sides; parties were even formed in his own dominions; and the Macedonians deprived him of the crown with the same levity as they had conferred it. He, however, had an army, which indeed was not numerous, but composed of good soldiers. With this aid he thought he could penetrate into Asia, which was still the object of his hopes. In his different engagements he had some success; but being hemmed in by numerous armies, he requested they would leave him an open passage, by which he might go and establish himself among some barbarous nation, where he could terminate his days in peace. He addressed himself, in particular, to his son-in-law Seleucus, who had some compassion on his wretched condition, and supplied his soldiers with provisions, of which they were in want. Se-

leucus would even have done more had it not been for his prime-minister Patroclus, who represented to him how much risk he ran in assisting the most ambitious and most enterprizing prince that ever existed ; and he added, that he was a lion, of whom they never could be sure till they had him in chains.

Seleucus, persuaded by this reasoning, reinforced his army, surrounded Demetrius, and pent him up in the defiles of mount Taurus. Demetrius, reduced to a state of despair, made a last effort, and opened a passage for himself into Syria ; but being seized with a violent fever he was obliged to stop. During his illness his soldiers, abandoned by hope, deserted in great numbers. When he began to recover, as he found himself hard pressed by Seleucus, he stole a march, and left the army of his son-in-law a great way behind him. He then formed a design of surprizing the enemy's camp ; and his plan would have succeeded had he not been betrayed by a deserter. Demetrius had then no other course than to hazard a desperate manœuvre, which he accordingly did ; and falling on the advanced guard of the enemy routed them by the first shock. Seleucus ran forwards, and shewed himself to those victorious soldiers, at the head of a numerous army ready to engage. He informed them, that he had delayed so long to attack them merely to prevent the useless effusion of blood ; and he exhorted them to lay down their arms,

and not to expose themselves any longer for a prince blinded by ambition, and incapable of making farther resistance. The soldiers applauded this speech, replied to it by repeated acclamations of long live king Seleucus, and abandoned the unfortunate Demetrius.

The latter retired to a thick forest with a few faithful adherents, and during the night Sofigenes, one of his old friends, brought him a small sum of money. Assisted by this feeble aid, he endeavoured to save himself, with a view of proceeding to the sea coast; but all the passages were too well guarded. His small escort finding no farther resource immediately dispersed; a few of them, however, remained, but only to deliver him up to Seleucus. Demetrius having discovered their design, sent deputies to his son-in-law, whom they found in the best disposition possible.—“Fortune,” said he, “is less attentive to the safety of Demetrius than to the interests of my glory; since no victory could be more glorious than the act of clemency which it furnishes me with an opportunity of performing.”

Seleucus, faithful to these principles, sent to meet Demetrius some persons whom he thought would be most agreeable to him; and this train were joined by a multitude of courtiers, under the persuasion, that the genius of the father-in-law was about to assume a complete ascendancy over the mind of his son-in-law. The ministers entertained

the same idea; and particularly Patroclus, who endeavoured to revive that fear and suspicion which had been banished by the first transports of generosity. Demetrius, in the midst of congratulations, found himself surrounded by a numerous guard, who conducted him, not before the king as he had flattered himself, but to a fortress situated in a peninsula, where he was closely confined. He was, however, indulged with every thing that could contribute to convenience or enjoyment. He was allowed to amuse himself with the pleasures of the chase in a very extensive park; and in every other respect his desires were fully gratified, or even anticipated. He was also flattered with the hope that he would be restored to liberty as soon as his daughter Stratonice, and some other relations, should arrive to settle the conditions,

He indulged this hope for some time, but finding that he was put off day after day, and that he even could not obtain an interview with Seleucus, though he repeatedly requested it, he abandoned himself to the pleasures presented to him, and particularly good cheer, which he thought the best method of banishing regret for the loss of his past grandeur. It was therefore believed that he had resigned himself to his fate, and perhaps he entertained the same idea himself. A letter of his to his son Antigonus, which is a kind of renunciation of every thing that could attach him to life, is

still preserved. In that letter he resigns in his favour all right to his states in Greece; exhorts him to take particular care of them, and to observe constantly towards his subjects the laws of justice and moderation. "Consider me," adds he, "as dead; do not think of purchasing my liberty by sacrificing cities or provinces; and give no credit in that respect to any letter, even though written by my hand, and sealed with my seal."

Demetrius found that pleasure destitute of hope is but a feeble resource against misfortune. While immersed in the deepest sadness, all his attempts to emerge from it were fruitless; and the efforts he made for this purpose brought on a disease, which carried him to the grave at the age of fifty-four. Demetrius shewed himself to be a great prince, either in prosperity or misfortune. He was the ablest engineer of his time; gentle and agreeable in his manners; fond of letters; magnanimous in his conduct; generous and beneficent; and adored by his family. It must be observed, that he had four wives, who all lived with him at the same time; yet they neither gave to him nor to each other the least cause of uneasiness.

His son Antigonus, a model of filial affection, as Demetrius had been himself, offered to become a hostage for his father, and proposed as the price of his deliverance to resign all the states which he possessed in Greece. Though this offer was re-

used, he persisted to request that he might be set at liberty, assumed the dress of mourning, and assisted at no festivals during the time that his father was detained a prisoner. When he heard of his death, and that his ashes were on the road to be conveyed to him, he set out to meet them, accompanied with a numerous fleet, and caused them to be inclosed in a golden urn. On entering the port of Corinth, where he resided, he ordered this urn to be placed on the stern of his vessel, covered with a purple canopy, having above it a crown of gold; while he himself, clothed in a mourning habit, continued near the precious remains with his eyes bathed in tears. Almost all the cities of Greece sent garlands to ornament it, and deputies to assist at the funeral. From Corinth the ashes of Demetrius were transported to Demetriades, which he had built, and deposited in a magnificent tomb. It is rare to see such deep regret on the part of an heir apparent to a throne.

The deplorable disasters which arose from the Macedonia. conquests of Alexander in Asia prepare us for scenes still more bloody in Macedonia. That prince had left the government of it to Antipater, a minister who had been highly esteemed by his father Philip. He was of an illustrious family, and a particular friend of Aristotle, who inspired him with an ardent taste for the sciences. All his actions were accompanied with a certain air of grandeur. In the common occurrences of life, as

well as in his dress, he displayed the greatest simplicity, and seemed to be only a plain individual, even when he communicated his orders to kings. In a word, it may be said, that he was either the greatest man or the greatest hypocrite of his time.

2476.

The government entrusted to him by Alexander was more embarrassing than that of any other, owing to the difficulty of living with Olympias in such a manner as to prevent her from assuming too much authority, without giving the son cause to blame the restraint imposed on his mother. The part he had to act was delicate; but it appears that Antipater discharged his duty for a long time to the satisfaction of Alexander. It is believed, however, that at the period when the manners of this conqueror were changed Antipater's inflexible love for truth began to displease him; and that at the time of his death he intended to have made him experience some striking mark of disgrace: though it may be said, that Alexander was indebted to him for his conquests; because if the governor had not maintained peace in Macedonia the king could not have received those recruits sent to him by Antipater, which kept up the force of his army, and would have been forced to quit Asia, that he might not risk his hereditary crown for mere hopes.

The account of Alexander's death occasioned great embarrassment to Antipater. As a part of the Grecian cities expelled the Macedonian garri-

sons, it was necessary to negotiate with some of them, and to treat others with rigour. The Athenians, in particular, gave him great uneasiness. They obliged him, as he found himself blockaded, to sue for peace; but they refused to listen to any proposals, unless he would surrender at discretion. Antipater, however, extricated himself from this disagreeable situation; and, in his turn, insisted on the same conditions as those which the Athenians had wished to impose on him. They were forced to submit; but he did not abuse his victory, and contented himself with obliging them to banish those dangerous orators who misled the people, always volatile and changeable. This war has been called the war of Lamachus, because the principal battle was fought near a city named Lamia.

Antipater, excited by a desire of being useful to the family of Alexander, proceeded to Asia, where he had the title of protector, which he brought back to Macedonia, and died there at the age of eighty. His delicacy did not allow him to give his government to his son Cassander, who notwithstanding his youth would have discharged the duties of it with propriety. He assigned it to Polyperchon, the oldest of Alexander's generals whom he had around him. This man, who succeeded Antipater in the quality of governor-general of Macedonia and tutor of the young princes, possessed only moderate talents. His son Alex-

ander was equally destitute of ability. They began their administration by a fault, committed in direct opposition to the advice left them by Antipater, to invite Olympias to Macedonia, from which Antipater had found means to get her removed. This artful woman rendered herself mistress of the mind of Polyperchon, and advised him to introduce into the government of different cities changes, which excited discontent. He issued his orders with great haughtiness in the name of Aridæus, the brother of Alexander, who had been acknowledged king with young Alexander, the son of Roxana.

Aridæus had married his own niece Eurydice, the grand-daughter of Philip; and whether it was that the right of this princess to the crown excited the hatred of Olympias, or that rivalry in authority, and that jealousy, which is not uncommon among women, prevailed between them, they not only shewed a mutual coolness, but even hatred, and a desire of injuring each other. Olympias was supported by Polyperchon, while Eurydice sought support in Cassander, the son of Antipater, who could not see without uneasiness the attachment of Polyperchon to Olympias, the declared enemy of his father. He communicated his fears to his friends, and formed a powerful party. His first efforts to supplant the governor were not attended with success. He was obliged to fly to Asia; but instead of renouncing his design, he

raised an army in that country by the assistance of those princes who were jealous of Polyperchon's authority, and was ready to enter Macedonia of his own accord when he was called in by Eurydice to her relief.

A civil war was now begun in Macedonia. The two heroines, each at the head of an army, shewed themselves determined to hazard the event of a battle. That communication which is natural between the inhabitants of the same country, though of opposite parties, was favourable to Olympias. Eurydice's soldiers had voluntarily entered into her service, and with every mark of zeal and affection; but Olympias having presented herself before them at the moment when the action began, her majestic air, and the idea that they were going to combat against the widow of Philip, the mother of Alexander, made them drop their arms. They abandoned the unfortunate Eurydice and her husband. Olympias being mistress of their fate caused them to be shut up in a place so confined that they were scarcely able to move; and ordered them to be fed with the coarsest nourishment. Along with this wretched couple a great many of Cassander's partisans, among whom was his brother Nicanor, having fallen into her hands, she caused them all to be put to death, and a hundred of his friends to be massacred. She wished, at the same time, that the tomb of Iolas, another brother of Cassan-

der, might be opened, and that the remains of his body should be thrown out into the highway.

As these cruelties began to excite some compassion in favour of Aridæus and his spouse, Olympias, fearing the consequences, resolved to get rid of her prisoners. By her orders some Thracians, armed with poniards, entered the prison where the king was confined, and dispatched him with repeated blows. A moment after, she sent a messenger to offer Eurydice a dagger, a rope, or a cup of poison. "May the gods," said the unfortunate princess, "give one day to Olympias a present of the like kind." She then tore her handkerchief, wiped the wounds of her husband, who had just emitted his last sigh, covered up his body, and, without displaying the least weakness, or suffering a single complaint to escape from her, presented her neck to the fatal cord, and was strangled.

Cassander.
Death of
Olympias.

Cassander arrived too late to prevent these cruelties, but soon enough to punish them. When he entered Macedonia, Olympias was going from city to city, escorted by a magnificent court. She had taken with her Roxana and the little Alexander, under a firm persuasion that a sight of the widow, the son, and the mother, of that conqueror, whose victories did so much honour to the Macedonian name, would induce the best soldiers to range themselves under her standards; but her army did

not increafe. Being ftill purfued by Caffander, ſhe was at laſt compelled to ſhut herſelf up in Pydna, which Caffander beſieged both by ſea and by land. The garrifon were reduced to ſuch a dreadful ſtate by famine, that the ſoldiers were obliged to feed on the dead bodies of their companions. After ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to eſcape, Olympias ſurrendered at diſcretion, and being accuſed before the aſſembly of Macedonia by the relations of thoſe whom ſhe had put to death in ſo cruel a manner, was condemned herſelf to capital puniſhment, without being allowed to ſpeak in her own defence. Caffander then offered her a veſſel to transport her to Athens; but ſhe reſuſed this offer, being afraid that in the courſe of the voyage ſhe might be thrown into the ſea. She expreſſed a deſire of juſtifying herſelf in a new aſſembly, but Caffander thought it would be dangerous to grant her that permiſſion. Two hundred men, indeed, whom he ſent to diſpatch her, were ſo diſconcerted by her majeſtic air, that they returned without executing their order. The ſame cauſe, therefore, muſt have produced a much greater effect on a multitude, among whom there are always ſome individuals inclined to mercy. No other means could be deviſed for getting rid of her than to deliver her up to the relations of thoſe whom ſhe had cauſed to be put to death. Such was the end of the mother of Alexander. It would be uſeleſs to trace out her character; it is ſuffi-

ently displayed in her actions. Cassander sent Roxana and her son to Amphipolis; but he removed from them those by whom they had been usually attended, and ordered that the young prince should be educated as a plain individual. From Amphipolis they were transferred to a solitary castle; and when he had accustomed the Macedonians to forget them, he caused them to be put to death, laid aside the name of protector, which he had hitherto retained, and assumed the title of king.

2698.

If those military talents which ensure victory added to a wise and moderate government can justify usurpation, Cassander deserved the throne. He brought back to Macedonia peace and abundance; rebuilt the cities which had been destroyed; united to his crown that of Epirus; maintained with honour and advantage the war against Antigonus, who was master of Asia; imposed laws on the Ætolians and the Illyrians; subdued Peloponnesus; and died of disease in the midst of his triumphs. He left three sons, Philip, Antipater, and Alexander, the first of whom succeeded him, but died soon after. Antipater then caused himself to be proclaimed king; but Alexander opposed his installation, being supported by a powerful party, and the consent of the queen his mother, or at least they made Antipater believe so. This unnatural prince, fearing the preponderance of such influence, entered his mother's house with assassins

on purpose to destroy her. In vain did she beg for mercy, and conjured her son by the breasts which suckled him; he remained inflexible, and commanded her to be massacred before his eyes: an instance of the most horrid barbarity, almost unexampled in history.

After a war of several years, in which foreigners took a part, and which was attended with fatal consequences to the kingdom, it was partitioned between two brothers. Alexander, the eldest, was supplanted by Demetrius, whom he attempted to destroy. It appears that Demetrius did not pay sufficient attention to the character of his new subjects; as he shewed on the throne of Macedonia a luxury, which might have given satisfaction in Asia, or have been tolerated in Greece, where the arts were honoured, but which formed too great a contrast with the rural simplicity of the Macedonians. He behaved in this kingdom as if in a conquered country: issued his commands with haughtiness, and rejected the remonstrances and complaints of the people with an air of contempt still more disgusting than a refusal. His subjects, at length, becoming tired of their oppression, expelled him from the country, and gave the crown to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. Thus Macedonia, to which Epirus had been annexed under Cassander, was itself annexed to Epirus under Pyrrhus. The latter quitted it in order to make conquests in Italy; but before he departed

Demetrius.
Pyrrhus.
2705.

he divided it with Lyfimachus, the sovereign of Thrace, who during his absence made himself master of the whole.

Lyfima-
chus.
Ceraunus.
2714.

By female intrigues the court of this prince was filled with fatal diffensions. Arfinoe, whom he espoused in his old age, inspired him with the most odious suspicions of Agathocles, his eldest son, a prince universally beloved and esteemed. He was confined in prison without being heard, and afterwards poisoned. Lyfandra, his widow, the daughter of Ptolemy, escaped with her children and her brother Ceraunus to the court of Seleucus. This prince took up arms in favour of the unfortunate family, and fought a battle at Lyfimachia, in which the king of Macedonia perished with thirteen of his sons. The conqueror, when about to place Ceraunus on the throne, was assassinated by him; and the latter, notwithstanding the atrocity of his crime, had the address to get himself proclaimed king by the Macedonians. He then began to think of being revenged on Arfinoe, the murderer of his brother-in-law Agathocles. As the princess had retired to Cassandria, a place of great strength, Ceraunus deceived her by the hopes of espousing her, and adopting her children. She opened the gates of Cassandria; and on the day appointed for the marriage, Ceraunus caused her two sons to be massacred in her presence, and banished the mother to Samothrace, with only two women to attend her. Having,

however, escaped to Egypt, she gained the affection of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the brother of Ptolemy Ceraunus, who married her; and she thus became the sister-in-law of him whose brother-in-law she had put to death, and who had assassinated her children. What alliances!

Under Ptolemy Ceraunus the Gauls, a nation Invasion of
the Gauls. hitherto unknown in these countries, made an irruption into Macedonia. Nothing but the hope of plunder, or a desire of procuring a more advantageous habitation, could have induced these barbarous hordes to quit their forests. They began therefore by pillaging, and afterwards settled, if the place suited their convenience. In either case the invaded country was in an unfortunate situation. Ceraunus, at the head of a powerful army, waited for them on the frontiers; but he was defeated and killed. They then dispersed themselves throughout the whole kingdom like an inundation, and exercised their robbery with the more ease, as the Macedonians were without a chief. During their first moment of surprize they had elected Meleager, the brother of Ceraunus; Meleager.
Antipater.
Cassander. but as he appeared to be destitute of ability, they deposed him two months after. Antipater, the grand-son of Cassander, who was next chosen, reigned only forty-five days. Sophthenes, a Macedonian lord, collected his scattered countrymen, formed them to discipline, and at their head defeated the barbarians in several engage-

ments. He was offered the crown, but declined accepting it; and contented himself with the title of general, which he retained with glory for two years. A new swarm of Gauls having arrived to reinforce the former, Sosthenes and his small army were overpowered by numbers. These two invasions completed the ruin of Macedonia, which the Gauls abandoned in order to exercise their fury in Greece.

Antigonus.

This kingdom, notwithstanding the miserable state to which it was then reduced, excited the ambitious views of three competitors: Antigonus Gonarus, so called from the place of his birth, the son of Demetrius; Antiochus Soter, the son of Seleucus; and Pyrrhus, who had returned from his expedition to Italy. The fathers of the two first had borne the crown of Macedonia. Assisted by their own troops as well as by mercenaries, they disputed for the remains of the desolated kingdom. Pyrrhus, worthy, by his romantic ideas, of commanding the Gauls, of whom he had great numbers in his army, offered to decide the contest with Antigonus by single combat; but the latter replied, that if Pyrrhus was tired of life he might find a thousand other ways to get rid of it. He was, indeed, killed at Argos by the hand of a woman, who struck him on the head with a tile. Antigonus, finding himself sole master of Macedonia, gradually got rid of the remainder of the Gauls by whom it was still infested, and began

a reign which, on account of its mildness and justice, ought to have given satisfaction to the Macedonians; but they suffered themselves to be dazzled by the brilliant valour of Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, who came to claim the rights of his father. The Macedonians, almost to a man, having espoused his cause, Antigonus abandoned this ungrateful people, and retired to his states in Greece. His son Demetrius, however, maintained his ground in a corner of the kingdom; and as his exploits attracted the notice of the Macedonians, still captivated with bravery, they embraced his party. With this support he vanquished his opponents, and recalled his father Antigonus. The latter, the grand-son of Antigonus, killed at the battle of Ipsus, and the son of Demetrius, who died a prisoner, did not forget the vicissitudes of fortune which he had so often experienced. When Pyrrhus was killed, the son of Antigonus, in the first transports of the joy inspired by victory, presented to him the head of the king of Epirus; but the Macedonian monarch turned aside his eyes with horror, and said: "Unhappy youth! do you imagine that a prince whose grand-father was killed in the same manner, and whose father died in confinement, can receive pleasure from the spectacle which you present to me?" He received with much kindness the son of Pyrrhus, who was introduced to him by Demetrius. Observing that he had on a

mean dress, he said to his son, who was recommending the young prince to his notice: "I am more pleased with your conduct on the present occasion than with that which you observed after the battle; but you have not yet done enough, as the dress which covers him is fit only to disgrace your victory."

Demetrius II.
2756.

Demetrius II. the son and successor of Antigonus, was so fortunate as to be in a situation which enabled him to imitate the mild virtues of his father, rather than his military talents. His reign was tranquil, but exceedingly short. His death excited much regret, which would have been still greater, but for the eminent qualities of Antigonus Doson, his brother, who succeeded him; first as tutor to a very young son, named Philip, whom his brother had left, and afterwards as king, on his marrying the widow. The care which he bestowed on the education of his nephew, and the affection he always shewed towards him, prove, that if he assumed the crown it was not to deprive him of it, but to render it more brilliant for him when he came of age. Macedonia prospered under his government. He was an excellent warrior, and an able politician. Antigonus possessed the art of promising; as appears by his name *Doson*, which signifies about to give. He died of a spitting of blood, occasioned by an effort made when encouraging his soldiers in a battle. Before he breathed his last, he begged the army

Antigonus
Doson,
2762.

to preserve constant fidelity to Philip, his nephew and ward, who was about to ascend the throne at a very early age.

Philip, like his predecessor, was brave, eloquent, ^{Philip, 2778.} and well versed in every branch of knowledge necessary for a king; but he was gloomy and cruel, two faults which embittered his life, and disgraced his reign. Before he attained to the age of maturity, he attempted a discovery the most difficult perhaps of all, and especially for a king:—to distinguish his real from his false friends. Incensed at not being able to satisfy himself on this point, he removed the difficulty by putting to death, without discrimination, such of his courtiers as he had lived with in a state of familiar intimacy. We know also that he was guilty of the death of Aratus, that respectable chief of the Achæans, whom he caused to be poisoned; and of having ordered a beverage to be given to the son of that prince by which he was rendered an idiot. Such was the father of Demetrius and Perses, both celebrated; the former by his attachment, and the latter by his antipathy, to the Romans.

These republicans had already carried their arms into Greece, where they put in practice that insidious policy which rendered them at last masters of the world. It consisted in giving assistance to the weak against the strong. After they had pulled down the power of any king, by taking from him some of his states, and a part of his

means of attack or defense, in order that they might still farther weaken his forces, under the pretence of indemnification, they assigned to him some other country to be subdued. Thus, after having obliged Philip to deliver up to them his ships, and after interdicting him to continue conquests already begun, and nearly brought to a conclusion, they permitted him to attack the Thracians, whom they knew it would be difficult to conquer. One of their political arts was to demand as hostages the children of great men and sovereigns; that they might educate them in their own principles, and inspire them with admiration for the republic. This kind of address was practised against Philip. The Romans demanded his son Demetrius as an hostage; and sent him back filled with sentiments of esteem and of affection for them, which were little calculated to please the king of Macedonia, after the imperious manner in which they had treated him.

Demetrius had an elder brother, named Perfes, born by a concubine; but the illegality of his birth deprived him neither of the desire of ascending the throne, nor of the hopes of accomplishing the object of his wishes. Demetrius, on every occasion, endeavoured to soften the resentment of his father against the Romans. He tried, above all, to move him through considerations of interest, by representing to him that the power of the republicans was far superior to his own; that he ran the risk of

offending them ; and that it would be much better to endeavour to secure their friendship by an open, manly conduct, than to attempt to deceive them by acts of duplicity, which they would not fail to discover. Philip was sensible of the justness of this reasoning ; but he did not hear it without pain ; and this pain often induced him to believe that his son employed these arguments more through his attachment to the Romans, than with a view to his advantage. Perſes lost no opportunity of strengthening these suspicions ; and however much affection Philip might have for Demetrius, a prince of a cheerful, bland, insinuating disposition, and adorned with every virtue, there were some moments when identity of sentiment gave the ascendancy to Perſes, who was gloomy, artful, and malicious.

A circumstance occurred which afforded an opportunity for knowing the difference of these two characters. Philip being desirous of amusing his court with a kind of spectacle, something similar to a tournament, the two princes were placed at the head of two parties, each composed of their friends. The combat, however, which was intended to be feigned, soon became serious ; and it required all the authority of the king to put an end to it. The two brothers having afterwards treated their champions, some belonging to the party of Perſes introduced themselves into the hall where Demetrius was regaling his friends. The

guests considering them as spies, turned them out; but Demetrius being displeased with his courtiers, on account of this insult offered to his brother, proposed that they should go and surprize him in an amicable manner at table, under an idea that this mark of confidence would appease him. This was an act of imprudence, of which his friends endeavoured to make him sensible; and those in particular who had turned out the spies, whether real or pretended, refused to expose themselves to his brother's resentment. Demetrius insisted they should go; but he did not oppose the precaution they took of carrying poniards under their robes to defend themselves, in case of an attack. Whether it was that Perses was really afraid, or was suddenly struck with an idea that this was a favourable opportunity for rendering his brother odious, when he saw the company approaching he caused the door to be shut, and called out murder. The king, to whom both parties referred the affair, blamed the imprudence of Demetrius, while he condemned the odious suspicions entertained by Perses; but in regard to the question which of the parties had begun to convert the spectacle into a scene of carnage, he would give no decision. He contented himself with recommending union; and forbidding them, with an absolute tone, ever to disturb his tranquillity with the like disputes.

But if he entertained any doubt respecting the party which deserved blame, the arts that were

employed soon freed him from uncertainty, to his great misfortune. By one of those acts of duplicity from which his son Demetrius begged him to abstain, Philip incurred the displeasure of the Romans. On a request made by the inhabitants of Maronea, a maritime city of Thrace, the senate had ordered him to withdraw the Macedonian garrison. After much evasion Philip obeyed; but he pursued his measures in such a manner that, at the very time when the garrison quitted Maronea, it was entered by Thracians, posted for that purpose, who sacked and plundered it, and exercised against the inhabitants the most horrid cruelties. As this atrocious affair was soon known at Rome, Philip received orders to justify his conduct before the senate, and to send to Rome the commander of the garrison, that the truth might be fully ascertained. Philip ordered him to set out, and caused him to be poisoned on the road. As he was unable to resist the forces preparing to attack him, he commissioned Demetrius to endeavour to avert the storm. When the young prince arrived at Rome, he was astonished and much disconcerted on finding that accumulated proofs had been produced against his father. He did every thing in his power to justify his conduct, and the senate were inclined to admit his vindication; but in the letter which the senate wrote to his father they expressly declared, that his reasons had been considered as valid only through respect for the son.

This restriction displeased Philip. He thought it foreboded nothing favourable to his happiness, as he imagined that his son had entered into some private treaty with the Romans to support him in opposition to his father, and perhaps to deprive him of the throne. Perfes strengthened these suspicions by forged letters, which he caused to be sent from Rome, and in which the pretended plans of Demetrius were unfolded with so much simplicity, that the king was deceived, and issued orders for arresting his son. The person entrusted with this business was one Didas, a secret partisan of Perfes, who executed his commission with so much apparent regret, and behaved with so much respect to the young prince, that he began to place confidence in him. He confessed to him that, if he could obtain his liberty, he intended to escape to Rome, to avoid the effects of his brother's hatred. Didas related this to the king, who ordered him to dispatch his prisoner by poison; but with as much caution as possible, lest the Macedonians and the Romans, by whom he was equally beloved and esteemed, should suspect his design. Didas mixed some poison with the prince's food; but finding that its effect was too slow, and that the violent pain by which Demetrius was agitated began to raise doubts, he caused him to be suffocated.

As soon as Demetrius had breathed his last, Perfes changed his conduct. He no longer behaved to his father with the same respect as

formerly, and shewed evident signs of his joy at the death of his rival. This conduct gave Philip great uneasiness, and he began to suspect that he had been deceived. He endeavoured, therefore, to satisfy himself on this point; and for that purpose applied to one of his relations, named Antigonus, a man of approved probity. Antigonus told the king frankly that he believed Demetrius to have been innocent, and pointed out to him the means by which he might still farther ascertain the truth. The person who had forged the letters acknowledged his crime; and his confession, supported by other proofs, threw the king into a state of the utmost despair. Such of the guilty as could be seized were condemned to death; but Perses made his escape, and fixed his residence on the frontiers, where he entertained hopes of seeing the moment soon arrive which would render him master of the crown. He was not kept long in expectation; Philip, tormented with remorse, terminated, amidst the horror of painful repentance, a life which his gloomy disposition had rendered unfortunate to himself as well as to others.

During his last illness he revealed the infamous conduct of Perses, in regard to his brother; and recommended to his subjects to acknowledge as king Antigonus the son of Demetrius. Perses, however, who had taken proper measures to secure the kingdom to himself, having received early information of his father's death, arrived at the head

Perses,
2821.

of a body of troops ; took possession of the throne, and caused Antigonus to be dispatched. His whole reign perfectly corresponded with this commencement. It would be difficult to find in history a man who committed murder with more indifference, or more spontaneously, were we allowed to apply that term to such actions. The reader, no doubt, expects to find Perfes, as soon as he was seated on the throne, engaged in hostilities with the Romans. It is certain that these republicans treated him with the most disdainful haughtiness. Philip, in consequence of a treaty with them, had engaged not to make war without their permission. They extended this clause so far as to maintain that Perfes had no right to arm against his rebellious subjects without their approbation. In general, they behaved to him as to a man whom they wished to insult. All his actions excited suspicion: if he had any disputes with his neighbours, they accused him of being of a restless character and an enemy to peace ; if he lived with them on good terms, they reproached him with attempting to augment his power by secret alliances, in order that he might put himself in a state for carrying on war.

The last charge was not void of foundation. Had the advice of Perfes been followed, the Greeks, oppressed by the Roman power, would have expelled the armies of that ambitious republic, which reckoned those only its friends who entirely sub-

mitted to its will. Perſes, by means of remonſtrances, excited ſome of the Grecian ſtates againſt the Romans; formed alliances with the neighbouring kings; made a peace with the Thracians, in conſequence of which they were to furniſh him with troops; amaffed a prodigious ſum of money; purchaſed proviſions ſufficient for ſeveral years; and raiſed a powerful army. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, jealous of the credit which theſe preparations gave to Perſes among the Greeks, denounced him to the ſenate. The king of Macedonia endeavoured to diſpatch Eumenes by means of aſſaſſins, who lay in wait for him in a hollow road, and almoſt buried him under a ſhower of ſtones. They imagined, therefore, that they had killed him; but he eſcaped, and obtained ſufficient proofs that Perſes had been the author of this plot formed againſt his life. The reſearches of Eumenes produced alſo another diſcovery:—that Perſes had engaged a man to go to Rome and poiſon the ſenators who had ſhewn themſelves moſt hostile to his views.

A war was ſoon the conſequence of the provocations given by both parties. The Romans were defeated in the firſt battle; but as Perſes had not ſufficient talents to take advantage of his victory, the war was prolonged, amidſt events which produced nothing deciſive. On one of theſe occaſions, being afraid that a large ſum of money, which he deſtined for building a fleet in the har-

bour of Theſſalonica, might be captured by the Romans, he ſent orders to two of his generals, Andronicus and Nicias, who commanded there, to burn the arſenal, together with the naval ſtores, and to throw the money into the ſea. The latter obeyed; but Andronicus thought it his duty to defer executing the king's command, and it appeared that he was right. The Roman general did not advance. When Perſes got the better of his terror, he ſent for divers to recover the treaſure; and ſoon after, to reward Andronicus for his wiſdom, Nicias for his obedience, and the divers for their labour, he cauſed them all to be put to death.

To theſe inſtances of cruelty we may add two ſignal acts of fraud; which by ſome politicians perhaps may be applauded. As Eumenes, king of Pergamus, was much reſpected by the Romans, and on that account had great influence in Greece, Perſes reſolved to deprive him of both theſe advantages by a pretended negotiation of neutrality, which would offend the pride of the republic, and make it behave with coolneſs towards Eumenes. He, therefore, offered him a large ſum of money if he would remain neuter in the war between him and the Romans. Eumenes fell into the ſnare; and when Perſes had obtained ſufficient proofs to expoſe the king of Pergamus, he communicated them to the Romans; and having thus deprived him of their friendship, retained his money. He

practised a like fraud, but under a different form, in regard to Gentius, king of Illyria. Gentius had remained neuter; but in order to cause a diversion, it was thought proper to make him declare against the Romans. Perfes, according to his usual custom, sent his treasures before him, being fully resolved not to let them escape from his hands. He agreed with Gentius that, as soon as he received the stipulated sum, he was to come to an open rupture with the Romans. At the same time he sent him ten talents by way of earnest; shewed his ambassadors some boxes, sealed and addressed to Gentius, which he said contained the rest, and which he sent off along with them; but he desired the conductors to proceed slowly. Gentius, when he received the earnest, as he knew that the remainder of the money was approaching his frontiers, suddenly broke off all correspondence with the Romans, and caused their ambassadors to be arrested. Perfes being certain, after this violation of the rights of nations, that the king of Illyria had involved himself in a quarrel with the Romans, without the power of receding, ordered his boxes to be brought back; and thus procured, at a trifling expense, an advantageous diversion.

It may be readily seen, that the Romans were engaged with an enemy fertile in resources, who required all their attention. They, therefore, sent against him the ablest of their generals, the

Defeat of
Perfes,
2832.

celebrated Paulus Æmilius, under whose command a well-planned campaign decided the fate of Perses, and of Macedonia. This prince covered his kingdom by a strong army intrenched behind Mount Olympus, so that the Romans were not able to attack him but by fortifying themselves on that mountain. Some of the Roman generals believed, that it would be impossible to continue there for want of water; but Paulus Æmilius thought, that as the place abounded in grass, and was ornamented with beautiful trees, it must contain springs. He accordingly led thither his army, and dug wells, which afforded an abundant supply of water. At the same time he dispatched by a circuitous route a body of troops, who surprized the Macedonians, and obliged them to abandon their entrenchments. Paulus Æmilius afterwards descended into the plain, and preparations were made on both sides for a general engagement.

The Macedonian army astonished the Romans by its order and disposition. The Thracian mercenaries, and the auxiliaries, formed so many select corps; but the phalanx was the most remarkable. The fine appearance of the men of which it was composed, the richness of their dress, which was of scarlet, and the splendour and brilliancy of their arms, presented a most striking spectacle. Nothing was wanting to this army but an able general. It is not known by whom it was commanded: whether Perses remained at Pydna, from which he be-

held the battle, or whether he was present in it. The most common opinion is, that he had received a kick from a horse the evening before, and that notwithstanding the pain of his wound he put himself at the head of his troops, and that he was even slightly wounded; but it is generally agreed, that he was among the foremost who fled, and that he placed his purple robe, after being folded up, on the bow of his saddle, and laid aside his diadem that he might not be known. He proceeded without stopping to Pella, his capital, which he entered about midnight with only a few attendants, because the greater part of the nobility of his court, as they were well aware that he punished others without hesitation for the faults which he had committed himself, chose rather to fall into the hands of the Romans than to follow him. They, indeed, had reason to applaud themselves for their prudence, when they learned that two of his faithful servants having presumed to give him advice respecting the circumstances of the moment, he fell into such a violent rage against them, that he struck off their heads with his own hand. He was abandoned by all his followers except one body of Cretans, who remained with him, not so much through attachment to his person, as through the hope of participating in the treasures which this wretched monarch carried about with him, and from which he scarcely ever averted his eyes.

Perfes, flying from town to town, retired to the island of Samothrace, where there was a highly respected temple dedicated to Castor and Pollux. He was attended thither by Evander, one of those whom he had employed in the beginning of his reign to stone Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Both he and his master were under the greatest apprehension that the Romans would not respect their asylum. The inhabitants of Halicarnassus, seeing themselves surrounded by the Roman fleets and armies, were no less uneasy respecting the preservation of their privileges. While they were deliberating on this subject in the market place, a young Roman, mixing with the crowd, asked them with an air of simplicity, whether it was true that Samothrace was considered as a sacred island. "Without doubt," cried the whole assembly. "But do you believe," added the young man, "that it would be polluted if it served as an asylum to an infamous assassin?" They all agreed that it would. "Well then," added he, "Evander, whose history he related, is just now in your temple along with Perfes." When they heard this account they were struck with horror; and it was immediately determined, that Evander should quit the asylum, or come and vindicate his conduct. Perfes was thrown into great embarrassment by this resolution; for to permit Evander to enter into a vindication of his conduct, would be to accuse himself. The king advised him, there-

fore, in an amicable manner, rather to put himself to death. Evander did not relish this proposal; but pretending to agree to it, he said that he would prefer swallowing poison to death by the sword. Perſes, who ſuſpected that he choſe poiſon merely that he might gain time for the purpoſe perhaps of charging him with the murder, purſued the moſt expeditious means, and cauſed him to be diſpatched by his ſervants.

This atrocity made all thoſe who could have been of any uſe to him keep at a diſtance; and he was no longer ſurrounded but by wretches who were only fit to betray him. By their advice he concluded a bargain with a Cretan, the captain of a veſſel, who agreed to tranſport him to Crete with his family and treaſures. Perſes ſent on board the veſſel in the evening his moſt valuable effects, and about midnight repaired himſelf to the ſea ſhore, according to appointment; but the Cretan had ſet fail. The wretched monarch thus deſerted concealed himſelf in a ſmall wood, and diſpatched a meſſenger to Paulus Æmilius to inform him that he ſurrendered himſelf into his hands.

The conſul, ſurrounded by liſtors, and all the inſignia of Roman grandeur, received him under an open tent. The prince appeared in a mourning habit, as if ready to ſink under his miſfortune. After reproaching him in pretty moderate terms reſpecting his conduct towards the republic, Æmilius ſaid: “ The Roman people are as much cele-

“ brated for their clemency as their valour. You
“ may hope then, prince, and be even assured,
“ that they will be no less generous towards you
“ than they have been towards various other
“ princes subjected to their authority.” These
consoling words he addressed to Perses in the
Greek language; and then turning towards the
Romans, spoke to them as follows in his native
tongue: “ Young Romans, you here see how un-
“ certain are all human things. Take advantage
“ of the lesson given you by this striking ex-
“ ample; learn that prosperity can never be in-
“ fured by pride or violence; and remember,
“ that as our fate is liable at all times to
“ change, we ought never to place confidence in
“ the happiness of the moment. True courage is
“ never elated in prosperity, and does not suffer
“ itself to be depressed by adversity.”

The consequences were not agreeable to the
hopes which the consul had inspired. As Perses
well knew that he was destined to add splendour
to the triumph of the conqueror, he sent to beg that
he might be saved from the shame of being exposed
as a spectacle to the Romans. “ The favour
“ which he requests,” said Æmilius coolly, “ is in
“ his own power; it depends on himself to obtain
“ it.” That is to say, he was at liberty to put himself
to death: a great indulgence after the promise made
to him of good treatment! He was led in triumph
with his two sons, Alexander and Philip, and an

infant daughter, accompanied by the officers of their household. They all had their eyes bathed in tears ; and while they saluted the people in a suppliant manner, they taught the young princes to stretch out also their innocent hands. The king of Macedonia, covered with a mourning habit, walked behind them alone, followed by a great number of Macedonians, all exhibiting in their looks every sign of grief and despair. Besides the treasures of Perses, and the rich spoils of the foldiers, there were exhibited on this occasion those almost of the whole world, since the kings of Asia, by often plundering Greece, had transported to their own kingdoms the most beautiful works of industry, and the most esteemed monuments of the arts. These had been sent to Macedonia by Alexander ; and Paulus Æmilius, in his turn, carried away from all the cities whatever he found in them most valuable, in order to enrich Rome. The sum of money which he sent to the treasury was so considerable ; that it prevented the necessity of imposing any tax on the Romans for a number of years.

After the triumph, Perses was thrown into an infectious dungeon, with common criminals destined for punishment. As he was left several days without receiving any nourishment, he begged of his companions in misery to share with him their scanty portion. They offered him a rope or a dagger ; but he refused to make use of them.

Some say, that he died in this prison ; and others, that he was removed to a commodious house, where he lived two years ; but that his ill temper having rendered him insupportable to his guards, they relieved each other in turns to prevent him from enjoying rest, and thus occasioned his death through want of sleep. His two sons and his daughter, led with him in triumph, were still children. Philip and the young princess died ; but Alexander was put apprentice to a carpenter. He applied afterwards to writing, and became a clerk or secretary in the senate. Gentius, king of Illyria, with his wife and family, were prisoners at Rome at the same time ; but they were treated with much less severity. The cities of Greece and Italy, subject to the Romans, saw arrive among them the principal Macedonian families, who had orders to quit the country, without knowing whether the revenues arising from the property taken from them would be preserved for their use.

In regard to Macedonia itself, Paulus Æmilius declared that he rendered it free. How far this was the case may be seen by what follows. He divided the kingdom into four governments ; forbade the inhabitants of one government, under the severest penalties, to have the least intercourse with the inhabitants of another ; gave them new laws ; took away their most valuable effects ; obliged all the nobility above the age of fifteen to

leave the country ; and forbade the richest mines to be worked. Of the two hundred talents which the Macedonians paid to their kings, the Roman consul required only a hundred for the republic. But it is to be observed, that the two hundred were spent in the kingdom, and were therefore beneficial to it ; whereas the hundred being exported every year, were mere loss to the Macedonians. Such was the liberty granted to them by the conqueror ! Perfes, an odious and detestable character, deserved, no doubt, chastisement ; but when we see his children and his family, the principal nobility and the people, injured in their laws and manners, confined in their commercial correspondence, and plundered methodically, and in the atrocious manner above related, can we with justice boast of the moderation of the Roman republic ?

When Paulus Æmilius returned, the senate sent commissioners who were charged to give some form to this republic composed of incoherent parts ; for the cities governed themselves without any general connection, as was the case also in regard to the four governments. The garrisons which the Romans had left under the pretence of protection, though they apparently assumed no right over the civil government, still had an influence either by force or persuasion in the election of the magistrates and other civil officers. Those most distinguished by their probity and

talents were not the persons chosen, but such as shewed the greatest devotion to the Romans. The bulk of the nation were really in a state of slavery, while they possessed only the shadow of liberty. Tormented by the remembrance of their ancient grandeur, they longed for the moment when they should find themselves in a state of independence; and nothing could give them satisfaction but the monarchic government administered with wisdom.

While in this disposition they with pleasure saw appear a pretender to the throne, who called himself the son of Perſes. He gave out that he had been born to that prince by a concubine named Cyrtheſa, and that his father had caused him to be privately educated, in order that a branch of the royal family might remain, in case he should miscarry in his war against the Romans. This pretended prince was called Andriscus; but when he appeared he assumed the name of Philip, under both which appellations he is equally known. As his first attempt was not successful, he retired to Syria to Demetrius Soter, who had married a sister of Perſes. But it would appear that Demetrius was not satisfied with the proofs of his birth, as he delivered him up to the Romans to avoid incurring their resentment. The latter, either through contempt or indifference, being negligent in guarding him, he escaped to Thrace; and having collected some troops entered Macedonia, where his army increased, and conquered the kingdom in as little

time as had been employed by Paulus Æmilius to subdue it. The chief feature in his character was bravery carried to intrepidity, a virtue which was particularly pleasing to the Macedonians. In other respects, he had all the vices of Perſes : cruelty, avarice, pride in prosperity, and meanness in misfortune.

Like him, after gaining advantages he had the imprudence to expose his crown to the hazard of a general battle. But being defeated, he was taken prisoner, and served to ornament the triumph of Cecilius Metellus, his conqueror. The most common opinion respecting this Pseudo-Philip, as he was called by the Romans, is that he was an impostor. His being abandoned by Demetrius Soter, who delivered him up to the Romans, seems to be a convincing proof of it ; for had Demetrius believed that he was really his nephew, he would certainly not have behaved to him in that manner. He was followed by two other pretenders, the last of whom also assumed the name of Philip. Like the first, he found in the hatred of the Thracians to the Romans, and the discontent of the Macedonians, resources which supported him for some time ; but he at length perished in a battle. He was the last person who excited the Macedonians against the conquerors, with a view of restoring them to liberty, or of establishing a right to the crown, either as the son of Perſes,

or a descendant from the ancient kings of Macedonia.

Macedonia became a Roman province, and in that state was happier than when it had been an ally. Such was the conduct of the Romans, that though adorers of their own liberty, they were not fond of seeing it among others, and even persecuted those who seemed to enjoy it. But as they were well acquainted with the influence which the word liberty had over the human mind, they proclaimed it with pomp in their conquests, and they imposed on it conditions and restrictions which rendered it burthenfome, and even dangerous. This gave rise to quarrels between individuals and neighbouring towns, and sometimes to civil wars, in which the protecting garrisons interposed their mediation and force. In a word, their conduct gave rise to acts of defense or resistance, which were treated as revolts. The Roman armies were put in motion, the country was subdued, and the allies became subjects. After this they were treated with the greatest mildness. Those whom they entrusted with the government were strictly charged to endeavour to reconcile their new subjects to the yoke. Proconsuls who displayed incapacity were recalled, and the guilty were punished.

We find an instance of the latter severity in the history even of Macedonia. Junius Syllanus, a man of illustrious birth, behaved so ill in that

country, that his bad conduct, added to extortion and cruelty, excited the resentment of the Macedonians, who carried their complaints to Rome. The senate ordered Syllanus to appear before them; and Manlius Torquatus, the father of the accused, having requested leave to judge his son's cause, the senate, convinced of his integrity, granted him that favour. The son being convicted and condemned, was expelled from his father's house as an infamous character; and he afterwards hung himself through despair. When the father was informed of this catastrophe, it seemed to produce no more effect upon him than if it had happened to a stranger. He caused the doors of his house to be opened, and applied to his usual business, considering Syllanus as a man unconnected with his family, since he had renounced virtue. Might not Manlius have been magnanimous without entirely divesting himself of sensibility?

The vicissitudes of the kingdom of Macedonia are remarkable. It began by a colony of Argives, who formed a petty empire in a small central spot surrounded by barbarians, who gradually joined them, and lasted about seven hundred years. The policy of the first kings, in not declaring against Persia, made them enjoy peace, while all Greece was involved in the flames of war. Thus the treasures of the cities which were attacked flowed into Macedonia, as into an asylum; and the Persian monarchs augmented the kingdom, that they

might attach it more firmly to their interest. The peace of the Macedonians was often disturbed by the jealousy of the Greek republics; but Philip attacked these republics in his turn, and got into his hands the supreme authority of Greece. He made use of it to pave the way to his son for the conquest of Asia. After the death of Alexander, Macedonia was reduced to its former boundaries. It was gradually contracted by unfortunate foreign and civil wars, until being converted into a Roman province, it returned to that diminutive extent possessed by the Argives its founders; and it at length lost even its name under the dominion of the Turks.

ASIA AFTER ALEXANDER *.

Asia after
Alexander.
Under the
Seleucidæ,
called Syro-
Media.
2687.

The Seleucidæ, or kings who succeeded Alexander in Syria and Upper Asia, were so called from Seleucus, who founded that empire called the Syro-Median. He was the son of Antiochus, one of the principal captains of Philip, the father of Alexander. He attended that monarch during his conquests in Asia, and was made commander-in-chief of the elephants, which was an office of some importance in the army. After the death of Alexander he was appointed by the protectors general of cavalry, and afterwards governor of Babylon. In this place he conceived a desire of

* Under the Seleucidæ it was called Syro-Media.

becoming a sovereign like the other generals of Alexander. Seleucus, in the prosecution of this design, proceeded with great dexterity between the different rivals, who attacked each other with the utmost fury. Antigonus, it is said, discovered his stratagem, and endeavoured to arrest him; but he escaped to Egypt, from which he returned with a small army, and again took possession of Babylon. From this centre he extended his empire to Media; but while employed with conquests, Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, retook Babylon, which he plundered with the utmost inhumanity. The excesses committed by this prince made the Babylonians regret Seleucus, who had always treated them with mildness. Being, therefore, recalled, he set out once more to extend his possessions; and, besides Media, reduced to obedience Bactria, Hyrcania, and all the provinces formerly invaded by Alexander. On account of these numerous conquests he was styled *Nicanor*, that is, conqueror, to which he added the title of king of Babylon and Media. The battle of Ipsus, in which Antigonus was killed, fully established his empire.

Sixteen large cities are said to have been built by this prince, the most considerable of which were, Antioch on the Orontes, Seleucia, Apamea, and Laodicea, so called from the names of his wife and children. Others of less importance were named after other persons, who enjoyed his

friendship: an attention which proves that this prince was fond of shewing marks of his affection, and that he wished to perpetuate the remembrance of it. He fixed his habitation at Antioch, on the Orontes. The bed of the river Euphrates, by gradually becoming higher, had caused the water to overflow its banks, and to inundate the plains around Babylon, where it formed marshes, which rendered the city uninhabitable. Nothing soon remained of it but the walls. In the fourth century of the christian æra they served to enclose a park employed for confining wild beasts. Scarcely any vestiges of it can be distinguished at present; and the place on which Babylon stood is even disputed.

Antiochus.
Stratonice.

Seleucus had a son, named Antiochus, whom he loved with the tenderest affection. This prince was attacked by a lingering disease, the cause of which no person could discover. Erasistratus, his physician, who had made himself well acquainted with the diseases of the mind, an art more necessary in the medical profession than is commonly imagined, discovered that the disorder of Antiochus arose from the passion of love, and that the object of this passion was Stratonice, his mother-in-law, the most beautiful woman of her time. He found means to draw this confession from his patient; who told him also, that having found all his efforts to overcome his passion useless, he had resolved to put himself to death. Erasistratus had

no sooner made this discovery than he waited on the king, and informed him that his son's illness proceeded from love; but that it was incurable, because it was impossible for him to enjoy the beloved object, or to live without her. "How, impossible to enjoy the object of his affection!" said the king.—"Who is it then?" added he. "It is my wife," replied Erasistratus; "and I am certainly not disposed to resign her to him." "What," replied the king, "can you, my friend Erasistratus, suffer my son, my only hope, to perish by refusing him your wife? Where then is your attachment towards me?" "But," returned the physician, "suppose the prince were passionately fond of Stratonice, would you resign your pretensions to her, and follow that advice yourself which you give to me?" "O ye gods!" cried the father, "I wish I could purchase my son's life by the sacrifice of Stratonice. I would instantly resign her and my whole kingdom to save the life of a son who is so dear to me." Erasistratus took the monarch at his word. "Antiochus," said he, "can have no other saviour but you; for the object of his love is Stratonice." Seleucus made no hesitation, and resigned his wife to his son.—Would he have resigned his mistress with the same ease?

At this period two only of the thirty-six generals of Alexander, Seleucus and Lyfimachus, were

alive; but the noble remains of the vast empire which they possessed were not able to gratify their ambition. They endeavoured to deprive each other of certain parts, which they both ought to have abandoned, in order to pass their old age in peace. The thirst of power kept them in a continual state of hostility till the last moment of their lives. Lysimachus perished in battle, and Seleucus did not long survive him, being assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, for whom he was about to prepare a small state in Macedonia. This prince distinguished himself among all the kings of his time, not only by his warlike virtues, but by his love of justice, his clemency, and his profound respect for religion. He was fond of letters, and encouraged men of learning. The superb library which Xerxes had taken from the Athenians was restored to them by Seleucus. He used to say: "Did men know how painful the duties of royalty are, none of them would be so mad as to accept a crown, or even to take it up were it thrown at their feet."

Antiochus
Soter.
Antiochus
Theos.
2738.
Invasion of
the Gauls.

Under Antiochus Soter, his successor, the Gauls, invited to Asia by Nicomedes king of Bythia, repaired thither, and founded a state called Gallo-Græcia, or Gallatia. Seven hundred years after, according to a cotemporary author, the same language was spoken in that country as in the neighbourhood of Triers. The happiness of the king of Syria was disturbed by domestic troubles.

One of his sons revolted, and was punished with death. It is not improbable that the cause of his rebellion was the predilection shewn by the father for the son of Stratonice, whom he appointed his successor. The latter when he ascended the throne assumed the name of *Theos*, that is, god. The same title had been given to his father, his grand-father, and their wives; but only after their death. Under this prince lived Berofus, the historian of Babylon, who dedicated his work to him. Love, and the madness which attends that passion, occasioned a war between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. Magas, king of Cyrene and Lybia, had promised Berenice and his states as a dowry to the son of the Egyptian monarch. On his death his widow Apame refused to adhere to an engagement which had been made against her inclination, and she invited to receive her daughter's hand Demetrius, brother to a king of Macedonia. This prince, who was one of the handsomest men of his time, excited the affection of the widow, and she resolved to marry him herself, to the prejudice of Berenice. Being certain of the mother's attachment, Demetrius shewed very little respect for the daughter, and still less for the courtiers and ministers. They all, therefore, resolved to get rid of him; and Berenice having conducted the conspirators to her mother's apartment, they put him to death, notwithstanding the efforts of the queen, who covered him

with her own body, to defend him from the blows of the assassins. Berenice went to conclude her marriage in Egypt, and the king seized on her dowry. Apame then retired to Antiochus Theos, and persuaded him to endeavour to wrest from the hands of her son-in-law the states which her daughter had brought to him.

Parthians.
2741.

This gave rise to a bloody war, which was suspended on the part of Antiochus by a revolt of the Parthians and Bactrians: the former were commanded by Arfaces, a young nobleman of the country; and the latter by Theodotus, governor for the king of Syria. The embarrassment into which Antiochus was thrown by the rebels compelled him to make a peace, sealed by a marriage; but the consequences of it proved exceedingly fatal to him. He had two children by Laodice his wife, who was also his sister; yet he divorced her, in order that he might marry Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, who brought him immense riches. As long as the Egyptian monarch lived, Antiochus shewed great respect for his daughter, whom he loved to such a degree, that he sent to Antioch water of the Nile, which it was thought the state of her health required; but unfortunately for Berenice, he died two years after her marriage. Antiochus then dismissed her, and took back Laodice, who returned with her two children, Seleucus and Antiochus Hierax, but with a firm resolution of preventing the fu-

ture inconstancy of her husband. She adopted indeed a very sure method of effecting her purpose, which was to destroy him by poison; and every precaution had been taken to render her crime useful. She placed in the bed of the deceased a man named Artemon, who in his features and voice had a perfect resemblance to the king. The impostor recommended to the nobility, who came to visit him, his wife and his children. Laodice, at the same time, caused a proclamation to be issued in the name of her husband, whom the people believed to be still alive, by which her eldest son Seleucus was appointed successor to the crown.

Berenice escaped, with her son at her breast, to Daphne, a delightful place, situated almost at the gates of Antioch, where there was a temple dedicated to Apollo, considered as an inviolable asylum. The cruel Laodice, however, paid as little respect to the innocence of her rival, as she had done to the sacred bonds of hymen. She caused Berenice to be massacred, together with her child. The king of Egypt, who hastened to her relief, at the head of an army, arrived too late to prevent the murder, but time enough to punish Laodice, whom he put to death. Seleucus and Antiochus, sons worthy of this Megara, spent their lives in disputing for the throne, which they ascended in turns. By a remarkable singularity, they both died in confinement: Antiochus, in Egypt, almost on the threshold

Seleucus
Callinicus.
Antiochus
Hierax.
Seleucus
Ceraunus.
2770.

of his prison, from which he was endeavouring to escape; and Seleucus, a captive to Arfaces king of the Parthians. The latter was ironically surnamed Callinicus, the Victorious, because he succeeded in none of his enterprizes; Antiochus was called Hierax, the Hawk, because no prey came wrong to him; and Seleucus, the son of Callinicus, who succeeded him, was styled Ceraunus, or the Thunderer, also by an antiphrasis, because he was as weak in mind as feeble in body. He reigned only three years; but in that short space was exposed to the perfidious efforts of a conspiracy, which had almost overturned the throne. He maintained himself on it, however, by the councils of his cousin Achæus, the son of Andromachus, his mother's brother; but this faithful relation was not able to secure him from poison. Achæus punished the criminals, and the crown was offered to him, to the prejudice of the brother of the deceased king; but he refused it, and employed himself with success in securing it to Antiochus, who was only fourteen years of age, and whom he took under his protection.

Antiochus
the Great,
2775.

In history this prince has been styled the Great, and he seems to be equally entitled to it by his noble actions and his faults, his prosperity and his misfortunes. Among the last may be reckoned the blind confidence which he long placed in Hermias, who had been the minister of his father Ceraunus, and whom he retained in the same

quality: Hermias was obstinate, jealous of exclusive favour, imperious, and cruel; an enemy to those who possessed talents likely to obscure his own, and could neither bear contradiction nor remonstrance; but he possessed, in a sovereign degree, the art of captivating the mind of his master.

By the arrangement made at the beginning of his reign, Achæus took charge of the provinces of Asia Minor; Molo was sent as governor to Media, and Alexander to Persia. The two latter were brothers, and both able generals. Epigenes, who possessed equal experience, a man of profound sense and irreproachable character, remained with the young monarch, to command the army attached to his person; but his noble qualities excited the hatred and jealousy of Hermias. It is believed also that the revolt of Molo and Alexander was occasioned by the haughtiness and oppression of the minister. It broke out just at the moment when Antiochus had engaged in a war against Ptolemy Philopater king of Egypt. Epigenes was of opinion that it would be prudent for the monarch to subdue the rebels and restore peace to his kingdom, before he should attack another; but this measure was opposed by his rival Hermias. He pretended that it was not the business of Antiochus to attack the rebels; that this task was fit only for his general; and that being a king he ought to combat against none but kings.

This ostentatious advice prevailed over the sound reasoning of Epigenes. The minister even found means to make Epigenes, on account of his persisting in his opinion, to be suspected of collusion with the rebellious governors. Antiochus, however, leaving his general to exercise his own discretion against the rebels, went himself to attack the king of Egypt; but the latter deigned to oppose to him only his generals, who did not suffer him to approach the frontiers.

During this shameful expedition the rebels acquired more strength, and gained a battle. It was then debated in the council whether the king should proceed against them in person, or continue to harass Egypt. Hermias and Epigenes, in the course of this discussion, again advanced contrary opinions. That of Epigenes prevailed; but Hermias did not fail to be soon revenged for this preference. The useless expedition against Egypt had exhausted the treasury, and when it was necessary to march, no money could be procured. The troops murmured, and the king found himself under great embarrassment. Hermias then offered to pay the army with his own money, if the king would dismiss Epigenes. He coloured over this insolent proposal with a pretence that after the dissension which had taken place between them, they should never be able to agree, and that the public business would suffer by their discord. To his great regret, Antiochus left Epigenes in Apamea,

with strict orders not to quit it. Hermias, however, did not content himself with a simple arrest. After the departure of the king, he caused Epigenes to be conveyed to the citadel; and as the governor of it was entirely at his devotion, he charged him to find out some crime of which his prisoner might be accused. To suppose a secret correspondence by letters between him and the rebels; to accuse him before his own tribunal; to condemn him and cause him to be executed, was for the governor the affair of one day; and for Hermias to obtain the king's approbation, was the affair of a moment.

Antiochus defeated the rebels; and Molo killed himself after an unfortunate battle. One of his brothers, named Neolaus, escaped, and carried to his other brother, Alexander, the news of his defeat. Finding themselves without any resource, they first put to death their mother, then their wives, and afterwards themselves. Such cruel scenes frequently took place in Asia, where the conquerors were accustomed to spare none of the family of the conquered, lest there should remain avengers; and through a dread that this destruction might be accompanied with torture, the unhappy wretches chose rather to destroy themselves. Antiochus conceived a design of adding to the provinces he had just conquered, Media, a neighbouring kingdom, inhabited by a warlike people. Hermias at first opposed this expedition, in which

the king, from whom he derived all his authority, might perish ; but having learned that the queen was just brought to bed of a son, he strongly urged the king to engage in the war, under an idea that he would be killed, and that he should then be appointed tutor to the young prince. He was deceived, however, in his expectations. The ambitious pretensions of Antiochus were confined to a treaty of peace ; the disadvantages of which the attacked king, who was enfeebled by age, preferred to the danger of hostilities.

Hermias still reigned with insolent despotism, which he extended even to his master. He sometimes spoke to Antiochus in a tone very far distant from that of respect. This behaviour had excited umbrage in the mind of the king against his minister, but he durst not disclose it. It was therefore a relief to him, when his physician Apollophanes, by some advances, encouraged him to explain himself on this subject. He was as sensible as the physician of the pride, obstinacy, and cruelty of Hermias ; but Apollophanes having convinced him, that by abandoning so much authority to such a minister was exposing himself to danger, the destruction of Hermias was resolved on. Antiochus enticed him to a secret place, and caused him to be assassinated by his guards. All Syria was filled with the utmost joy by his death. When the news reached Apamea, the inhabitants, as if frantic, hurried to the house where his

wife lodged, and stoned her to death, with their children,

One of the greatest crimes of Hermias was that of having rendered Achæus criminal, and Antiochus cruel. Faithful to his pupil, for whom he had procured the empire, Achæus did his utmost endeavour to render his government in Asia Minor flourishing. He undertook against his usurping neighbour, expeditions which terminated happily; and this success excited the jealousy of Hermias, who endeavoured to ruin Achæus in the esteem of Antiochus, by ascribing to him ambitious views, and a secret connection with Ptolemy; a crime unpardonable with the king of Syria, who still had an eye on Egypt. Achæus well knew that this calumny met with credit; and as the plots formed by the minister appeared to him of such a nature as to require the greatest precaution for the security of his life, he thought he could find no better means of accomplishing his views than to assume the crown he had before refused, and to cause himself to be proclaimed king of Asia.

Thus what had been supposed became reality. ^{2782.} Achæus entered into an engagement with Ptolemy, who was able to support him; and Antiochus saw himself threatened with a dangerous war. He was powerfully assisted in it by Theodotus the Ætolian, who by some court intrigues had been forced to quit the government of Cœlesyria, which

he held from Ptolemy, and to throw himself into the arms of Antiochus. He was a man not only able in council but in execution, as appears by the following anecdote. Being well acquainted with the Egyptian language and manners, he conceived a design of avenging himself on the king of Egypt for the injustice he had experienced from his minister. He stole imperceptibly one evening into the camp, accompanied only by two foldiers, and proceeded to the tent of the king. Very fortunately Ptolemy had gone out; and as Theodotus did not find him, he wished at any rate to leave some proofs of his boldness; he therefore killed his physician, and wounded two other persons. This intrepid action spread alarm and terror throughout the whole army; and, in consequence of the confusion, Theodotus escaped in safety.

The battle of Raphia, in which Antiochus sustained a very great loss, would have occasioned that of all Syria, had he been engaged with a prince less indolent, and less fond of pleasure than the monarch of Egypt. It would appear that this prince wished for nothing more of victory than the triumph. After carrying his laurels into several provinces which submitted, and overrunning Palestine as far as Jerusalem, the temple of which he visited, being desirous of enjoying ease and luxury in his palace, he granted an advantageous peace to Antiochus. This peace was a mortal blow to the unfortunate Achæus. His old pupil

who had full time to make the necessary preparations for pursuing him, obliged him to shut himself up in the citadel of Sardis; but three Cretans, by an act of treachery, performed with great ability, drew him from that asylum, and for a stipulated sum delivered him up to the king. Antiochus saw him, shed tears, and caused his head to be struck off. He afterwards endeavoured to re-establish the Syrian empire in its ancient splendour. He expelled the Parthians from Media, pursued them to their own country, forced their king Arsaces to fly to Hyrcania, the capital of which he took, and afterwards granted him peace. He proceeded thence to Bactria, which he would have united to his empire, had he not preferred leaving it under the dominion of a king, to serve as a barrier against the irruptions of the Scythians. In these wars, which lasted seven years, Antiochus shewed as much ability as valour. He was wounded; undertook laborious marches at the head of his army; exposed himself to the same sufferings as his soldiers—hunger and thirst, the piercing cold of the mountains of Armenia, and the suffocating heat of the deserts. By this expedition, for which he ought to be classed among the most celebrated warriors, he acquired the surname of Great, which he might have borne with glory to the end of his life, had he not undertaken a war against the Romans.

It appears, and ought to be remarked, that this ^{2797.}

war was just on the part of the republic. In the commencement of it the Romans acted only as the protectors of Ptolemy Philopator, an infant whose states Antiochus wished to invade, and who to enable him to commit that act of injustice had formed an alliance with Philip king of Macedonia; but afterwards they appeared as protectors of the free cities of Asia Minor, and particularly the kingdom of Pergamus, which excited the avarice of the king of Syria. The first conquest he proceeded to make, in order to obtain the rest, was that of Thrace. The Romans pretended that it belonged to them as depending on Macedonia, and as being an indemnification for the war which they had maintained against Philip. Antiochus carried his right so far back as the conquest of that province by Seleucus, his great grand-father, from Lyfimachus, one of the successors of Alexander. Had the claimants spoken out clearly, without involving their pretensions in haughty speeches, which, though admired, exhibit nothing but contests of pride, Antiochus would have said: "I have need of Thrace in order that I may reach Greece, and ensure that power which I wish to establish over such states as I think proper:" and the Romans would have replied: "From Greece you may advance to Italy: we will not suffer you to set a foot in Europe." Such, in a few words, were the motives of this war, which procured to the Romans an entrance

into Asia; and which, in the course of time, carried them much farther into that vast country than they had at first imagined.

The Egyptian war was suspended or terminated ^{2304.} by a promise of marriage between two children of four or five years of age, young Ptolemy and a daughter of Antiochus. The minority of the young prince was disturbed by the revolt of Scopas the Ætolian, who, though only the chief of a body of auxiliaries, aspired to the throne; but he was anticipated in his designs, and punished. Dicearchus, one of his principal accomplices, was a man void of faith or modesty, and who gloried in his villany. Having been entrusted by Philip king of Macedonia with the management of an expedition, in defiance of a solemn treaty, he caused two altars to be raised to injustice and impiety, and offered up sacrifices to both. He however shewed this difference from common hypocrites and villains, that he at least publicly adored the divinities whom he harboured in his breast.

As Antiochus had suspended the Egyptian war, ^{2304.} he perhaps might have deferred that which he was planning against the Romans, had not his uncertainty been fixed by Hannibal. This great general, expelled by the hatred of the Romans from the ruins of Carthage, where he still caused the rival of his country to tremble, had taken shelter in the court of Syria, where he made Antiochus acquainted with the stratagems of the

senate, and shewed him that the Romans only wished to amuse him by their embassies ; that all their proposals were insidious ; and that they were determined, at any rate, to involve him in war, that they might subject him to their laws. As Antiochus was too well convinced of the truth of this information, he made great preparations ; and hesitated only in regard to the time and manner of employing them.

But this Hannibal, so deeply skilled in politics, and so well acquainted with the duplicity of the Romans, suffered himself to be deceived by their ambassadors. These ambassadors having gone to pay him a visit at Ephesus, where he was waiting for the king in order to determine respecting the war, treated him with every mark of kindness and respect ; reproached him in a friendly manner on account of the inveterate hatred which he entertained against the republic ; informed him that the Romans entertained very different sentiments towards him—that his name was never pronounced at Rome without transports of admiration ; and that they wished for nothing so much as an opportunity of obliging him. This flattery produced the intended effect. Hannibal, swallowing with avidity the poison of adulation, was eager to pay his court to those who poured it out. He considered their assiduity as highly honourable to his character ; and that he might not lose, for a moment, conversation so agreeable to his feelings,

he gave them lodging in his own house. What the perfidious ambassadors wished and foresaw, took place. Antiochus was offended : he thought the Carthaginian had become reconciled to the Romans ; and he withdrew from him his confidence.

Hannibal was soon sensible of his fault ; and having with difficulty procured access to the king, from whose presence he had been excluded by the intrigues of the ambassadors, and by jealousy, addressed him as follows : “ At the age of nine, I
“ swore at the altar, between the arms of my fa-
“ ther Hamilcar, never to enter into an alliance
“ with the Romans, and to carry my hatred
“ against them along with me to the grave. It
“ was a desire of fulfilling this solemn engage-
“ ment, and of effecting their ruin, that induced
“ me to quit Carthage, and to repair to Syria. If
“ you disdain the offer of my assistance I will go
“ to every place where soldiers or arms can be
“ found, and will excite enemies against the Ro-
“ mans. My hatred against them is as strong as
“ theirs against me. If you persist in your in-
“ tention of declaring war against them, you will
“ have no greater friend than Hannibal ; but if
“ you incline towards peace, from me you can
“ expect nothing. I breathe nothing but war ;
“ and if I fail in fomenting it here, I will go to
“ every country where I have any hopes of ex-
“ citing it.” He then entered into an explanation

of his plan for carrying it on. "It is not in
"Greece, but in Italy," added he, "that you
"can combat with success. There you will find
"whole nations impatient of the Roman yoke,
"who will strengthen your armies. You flatter
"yourself that it will be difficult for the Romans
"to transport their legions to the east; but they
"know how to surmount every obstacle. In a
"little time you will see your kingdom inundated
"as if by a torrent which has overturned its
"mounds. What I here tell you in private I will
"maintain, if necessary, in the presence of your whole
"court. "Have I not a right to teach your gene-
"rals in what manner they ought to carry on war
"against the Romans? Did not these haughty
"republicans always find me invincible, as long
"as I combated in Italy? But Carthage was so
"imprudent as to recall me to Africa, and I was
"forced to bend before a conqueror, who was
"unable to face me in Italy. Take my advice,
"lead your troops into the country of the Ro-
"mans, and thus check in its source the inunda-
"tion with which you are threatened." Hanni-
bal then traced out the plan of an attack to be
made in conjunction with the Gauls, the Cartha-
ginians, their African allies, and the discontented
cities of Greece, whom the enemy of the Romans
proposed to put in motion. He fixed the station for
the armies and fleets, with the proper points of
support, and developed a general invasion, which

would have thrown the Romans into great embarrassment had it been wholly adopted, and had the operations been begun with speed.

But Antiochus suffered himself to be anticipated. At the age of fifty he became enamoured of a beautiful Chalcidian, and amused himself with the joys of wedlock. While he was thus lost in pleasure, the consul Acilius forced the passage of Thermopylæ, gained a battle, and compelled him to return to Asia; soon after his fleet was defeated, and the way was then left open for the Romans, both by land and by sea. The king of Syria imagined he should be able to retard their progress by excursions against their allies, and in particular by invading the territories of the king of Pergamus, whose kingdom he plundered; but they did not alter their plan, and always continued to advance spite of every opposition. He endeavoured also to excite enemies against them. "These despotie republicans," said he to Prusias king of Bythia, "are the most implacable enemies of monarchs, and wish to overturn all their thrones; colouring their injustice with the specious pretext of giving liberty to the people, they induce them to revolt against their lawful sovereigns. After having subdued Thrace and Macedonia, they now come to attack me; and if I have not sufficient strength to resist them, you may expect to see them enter Bythia." This reasoning was just, and founded on experi-

ence ; but Antiochus still retreated, and the Romans advanced, while Prusias gave them the preference, and accepted their alliance.

Antiochus, thrown into despair by his repeated defeats, was at a loss what measures to pursue : “ I do not know,” said he, in the depth of his distress, “ what god has drawn a veil over my eyes. All my designs have been attended with disappointment. Heaven persists to persecute me, and every thing seems to announce my speedy ruin.” At this time he had against him the two Scipios. Africanus had readily engaged to serve under his younger brother, in a war where he was to be opposed to Hannibal ; but this great general enjoyed only a kind of half-confidence with Antiochus, and was not allowed to contend on equal terms against his ancient rival. All the predictions of the Carthaginian hero were realised. The Romans, whom he ought to have kept within their own territories, passed the Hellespont, and entered Asia, while Antiochus was seized with terror as he saw himself ready to be attacked in the centre of his states, and exposed to the necessity of hazarding the fate of a battle.

2980.

Either through policy, or that goodness of heart which was natural to him, he had treated with great respect Scipio's eldest son, as yet a youth, whom his father had been obliged to leave sick in a town which afterwards fell into the hands of Antiochus. The latter knowing that the father

was confined to his bed by indisposition, sent back to him his young prisoner, and the presence of this darling child restored Africanus to health. The king had accompanied his present with proposals of peace; but though Scipio did not think them proper to be accepted, he sent back word to him that all the advice he could give him at the moment was, not to think of coming to an engagement until he himself should arrive at the camp. The Roman general, no doubt, felt some compassion for the prince, and he flattered himself with the hope of being able, without prejudice to the interest of the Romans, to bring about an accommodation between them and the king. But the other Scipio fearing that if he waited for his brother the whole glory of the conquest of Asia might fall to Africanus, made an offer of battle to Antiochus in the plains of Magnesia. The monarch did not decline the contest; but his army, though far more numerous, was entirely defeated. Scipio the younger was indebted for his victory, not so much to his own ability and efforts, as to those of Eumenes king of Pergamus; whose kingdom Antiochus had ravaged. Antiochus, therefore, had to contend against an enemy inflamed with a desire of revenge, and against the Romans, accustomed to conquer, and proud of their former success. The latter found among the Asiatics soldiers worthy of being opposed to them; but the habit of strict discipline prevailed. The victorious

army was enriched by the plunder of the camp, the most abundant in valuable articles of every kind that perhaps ever existed. The booty obtained in the cities, which surrendered in succession, formed a mass of treasure with which even Rome found itself overloaded. "Luxury," says one of the Roman poets, "adorned with the spoils of Asia, entered Rome in triumph, having every vice in its train. It occasioned more mischief to the Romans than the most destructive war, and avenged the conquered world."

The unfortunate Antiochus was obliged to subscribe to a treaty the most humiliating perhaps ever dictated to a great power. The Romans required, besides a renunciation of his rights, that he should deliver up his elephants, his galleys, and vessels of every kind, together with ten proscribed persons, among whom was Hannibal; twenty hostages between the age of eighteen and forty-five, at the option of the Romans, and among that number his own son; five hundred and forty thousand bushels of wheat; and fifteen thousand talents, to be paid in equal parts, for twelve years, as tribute, but two thousand five hundred down for the expenses of the war. They limited also his navigation, and the number of his troops, as well as his alliances and connexion with his neighbours. Antiochus submitted to all these conditions; suffered his ships to be burnt, and assisted at the sacrifice which was to ratify the treaty. In

consequence of this ceremony, each of the contracting parties struck the victim, and said: "If I violate my engagement, may Jupiter strike me as I strike this victim."

After this period, Antiochus wandered about in his kingdom, going from town to town as if afraid that by stopping in one place he should leave some vestiges of his disgrace. It is said that his chief object on this occasion was to collect the first sum of money which he owed to the Romans. It is believed also that he concealed himself in the delightful country behind Mount Taurus, that he might abandon himself with more freedom to every kind of debauchery: an infamous resource, too often employed by old men when under misfortune. In that situation he was put to death by his own officers, whom he had maltreated after drinking to excess, or by the hands of the people, irritated to see the treasures of their temples carried away to pay the Romans. The end of Antiochus the Great was like that of those rivers, which, after flowing some time with a majestic course, hide themselves ignominiously in the sand.

Seleucus Philopator, the son and successor of Antiochus, being embarrassed to collect the tribute promised by his father, spent almost the whole of his reign in searching for money: he is called therefore in the scriptures the *Collector*. Under this prince happened the famous adventure of

Seleucus
Philopator,
2312.

Heliodorus, his treasurer, related in the second book of Maccabees. Being sent by the monarch to seize on a considerable sum, said to be contained in the temple of Jerusalem, he was repulsed by a celestial power, and returned without the money, half dead through the effects of a severe scourging which he had received. "If you have any enemy," said he to the king when he came back, "send him thither, and you may be sure he will never return. For He who inhabits the heavens has declared himself the defender of the temple, against every person who may be so presumptuous as to attempt to profane it." This Heliodorus, though punished for his sacrilege, was not afraid of again exposing himself to the divine vengeance by a murder. He poisoned Seleucus with a design of usurping the crown; and he perhaps might have succeeded had it not been for the arrival of Antiochus, the brother of the deceased king.

Antiochus
Epiphanes,
2823.

This prince had been put into the hands of the Romans as an hostage by his father Antiochus the Great. His brother required that he might be given up; and in exchange for him, sent his son Demetrius. Antiochus learned by the way the crime of Heliodorus, and was informed of his intended projects. He learned also that he would have a competitor in Ptolemy king of Egypt, the nephew of the deceased king; but fortunately he was furnished with an army by Eumenes king

of Pergamus, who, proceeding at the head of it into Asia, placed him on the throne ; though according to the succession it ought to have been reserved for Demetrius.

The character of Antiochus, as drawn by historians, is exceedingly whimsical. He was fond, it is said, of running about in the streets of Antioch with two or three domestics, and of passing whole days in the shops of the engravers and goldsmiths, conversing with them respecting their trade, which he pretended to know much better than they. If he met any of the lower classes of the people, he readily entered into conversation with them ; drank with the meanest of his subjects ; formed parties of pleasure with young persons, and danced and sung without any regard to his dignity. These were faults against decency, which rendered him ridiculous. Sometimes he was seen in the Roman dress, running from house to house, as was practised at Rome when the magistrates were elected ; pressing the citizens to give him their suffrages ; presenting his hand to one, embracing another, and soliciting sometimes for the place of ædile, and sometimes for that of tribune. According to the nature of the magistracy which he obtained, he would hear petty causes relating to contracts and sales made in the market, and pass sentence with an air of affected gravity. He was fond of wine and good cheer, even to excess ; and when intoxicated, he threw by

handfuls among the populace money, or stones, which he had previously provided. This prince was styled Epiphanes, the *Illustrious*; but it would have been more proper to have called him Epimanes, the *Madman*. However, as every thing is reconciled in some characters, it must be allowed that Antiochus could intermix great things with these mean actions.

Four expeditions which he undertook against Egypt were concerted with address, and conducted with bravery and ability. He sent spies, under the title of ambassadors, to examine minutely the forces of the kingdom, the state of the troops, and the character of the ministers during the minority of a very young king, and to see in what manner his affairs were conducted. When he knew that negligence, want of discipline, and effeminacy, every-where prevailed, he entered the kingdom, under pretences which may always be found, and took some towns, and gained several battles. The young king, Ptolemy Philometor, who was his relation, threw himself into his arms as lost. Antiochus gave him a favourable reception, but carried him away prisoner, as well as all the gold, silver, and precious vessels, which he could find in that opulent country. This formed so much towards paying the tribute due to the Romans. When he transmitted the money to them, he took care to add some of the rarities of Egypt, to make the senate satisfied with

his reasons for attacking it. The senate received his presents, but did not declare its sentiments respecting his expedition; so that Antiochus was emboldened to undertake another, which, on account of the pillage of the maritime cities, was equally lucrative.

The Egyptians having no hope of seeing Ptolemy Philometor released from his captivity, placed upon the throne his younger brother, named Ptolemy Euergetes, or Physcon, that is to say, Big-belly. This gave occasion to Antiochus to enter the kingdom; and the council of the new king resolved to solicit the protection of the Romans for an unfortunate minor, persecuted by his relation. These republicans, flattered by this supplication, and ambitious of being called the tutors of kings, a title which they assumed afterwards, sent ambassadors to enquire into the nature of the dispute. The cause was pleaded with great solemnity in the camp of Antiochus, who determined to enter into an accommodation; but he said that he had occasion for two men, then at a great distance, and who would be a long time in arriving, to clear up certain points, and to regulate the conditions. But the arbiters having made him ashamed of the evasion which he employed, he added: "Let us say nothing more on the subject; Egypt belongs to Ptolemy Philometor, the eldest of the two brothers; let him be recalled; let him be placed on the throne, and the war will be terminated."

He expected that neither of the two brothers would yield ; that a quarrel would therefore arise, and that he could take advantage of that opportunity to ruin them both. A quarrel indeed took place, but it was checked by their sister Cleopatra, who made them consent to hold the helm of government in conjunction. This union gave great joy to the Egyptians, and occasioned the utmost uneasiness to Antiochus, who made haste to interrupt or oppose it, but he found by the way the ancient arbiters. Never did the Roman majesty shine with so much splendour. Three ambassadors, among whom was Popilius, arrived with a simple train, without fleet or army. As Antiochus had known the latter during the time he resided at Rome as an hostage, he advanced, and stretched out his hand to him. "I will not accept that sign of friendship," said the Roman, "until you have read the decree of the senate." This decree interdicted him from proceeding to hostilities. Antiochus read it without any apparent emotion, and said he would return an answer when he had consulted his council. Popilius having a rod in his hand, drew a circle on the sand around the king, and said : "You shall not quit this circle until you declare, whether you accept or refuse the proposals contained in the decree. I hope you will respect the orders of the senate and Roman people."

They were respected, and even with circum-

stances which bordered on meanness. Antiochus sent ambassadors to Rome to make a humble declaration of his obedience to the republic. "Egypt," said they in his name, "was ready to acknowledge me as its sovereign. You have forbidden it; and I obey your orders as I do those of the immortal gods." Popilius and the other ambassadors were conducted by him in great pomp to his Asiatic states. He paid them every honour which the most abject flattery can imagine. Wherever they appeared they were sole sovereigns, and he resigned to them his palace without residing in it himself.

Excessive deference generally, and with great reason, excites distrust. The Romans learned that Antiochus was preparing an armament. Tiberius Gracchus, sent by the senate to visit the kings, republics, and free cities of Greece, thought it necessary to proceed to Antioch to examine into the conduct of a prince whose power might become formidable. The king of Syria, on his part, thought proper to amuse the Romans by entertainments. This shewed that he was little acquainted with the severe character of Gracchus. Antiochus sent for the most celebrated actors, with the best workmen of Europe and Asia, gave spectacles and feasts, and invited an innumerable crowd to be present at them; but what disgraced him in the eyes of the least delicate, was performing a part himself in a theatrical piece, flattered

with the idea of making the people laugh by buffoonery and indecencies, which did violence to modesty. The ambassador always appeared to be the object of his attention and adoration, and he did not know in what manner he could convince him of his extreme devotion. He even went so far as to offer to him his diadem; but Gracchus refused it with disdain, and on his return to Rome said, that after what he had seen he might assert, that no danger was to be apprehended from the king of Syria.

The principal ornaments exhibited at these entertainments, consisting of gold and silver plate, and valuable tissue, were the spoils taken from the Jews. Antiochus sold to the highest bidder the dignity of high-priest, to which the sovereign power was added. The purchaser exacted from the people the sum he had expended. This proved the cause of unavoidable ruin, and produced schism, dissension, and wars, in which Antiochus took a share to support those who purchased his protection. He became inflamed with the zeal of the schismatics, that murderous and destructive zeal which can with pleasure see the objects of its veneration prophaned, provided it can give uneasiness and vexation to its adversaries. He took Jerusalem, put forty thousand men to the sword, and sold forty thousand more as slaves. Being introduced by the false high-priest Menelas, he penetrated to the sanctuary called the holy of

holies, a place forbidden to every mortal; caused to be sacrificed on the altar of burnt-offerings a swine, an animal abhorred by the Jews, and ordered the temple to be sprinkled with the water in which it had been boiled, in order to render it impure; carried away the altar of incense, the table of shew-bread, and the candlestick with seven branches; and, to add to their misfortune, the conqueror established as governor a Phrygian, named Philip, a ferocious and oppressive tyrant.

The severities exercised against the Jews obliged them to take up arms. The Maccabees put themselves at their head, and gained great advantages over Lyfias, a good general, in whom Antiochus placed great confidence. This prince had sent him into Judea with an army, which he thought sufficient for subduing the revolted Jews; but he was defeated. When Antiochus received this intelligence, he fell into a violent passion, and swore to exterminate this rebellious and obstinate nation, and to annihilate the worship of the god whom they adored. He was marching with precipitation, or rather running to execute his design, when he found himself attacked with a severe pain in his bowels. The violence of his sufferings did not, however, cool his ardour. Having ordered his horses to be urged on with greater speed, he was thrown from his chariot by the rapidity of the movement; and his flesh was so bruised by the fall, that it dropped in pieces from his body. It

became filled also with worms, and emitted an infectious odour, which rendered him insupportable to himself. While thus a prey to the most excruciating torture, he acknowledged the just punishment of God, and promised, if he should recover his health, to repair the losses he had occasioned to the Jews; to cause the sacred vessels to be carried back to the temple; and even to embrace the law of circumcision. His repentance, however, was of no avail: the *vile person*, as he is called in the scriptures, died a warning to the audaciously wicked, who delay their repentance too long.

Demetrius
Soter, 2836.

Antiochus left an infant son, named Antiochus Eupator; but he had a nephew also, named Demetrius, who was an hostage at Rome. This young prince, when he heard of his uncle's death, asked permission to go and take possession of the states of his father Seleucus, which Antiochus had seized, when the nephew was exchanged for the uncle. He proposed that his cousin Eupator should come and assume his place as hostage, while he went to recover the throne which Antiochus left vacant by his death. The demand of the young prince was just, and he made it known in a full senate; but the conscript fathers thought it would be more advantageous for the republic to keep Asia under the power of a minor, than to commit it into the hands of a young, active, and hot-headed prince, who would become acquainted

with his own forces, and might be tempted to employ them. They refused, therefore, to comply with the request of Demetrius; and at the same time declared that they took Eupator under their protection, and would become his guardians. They appointed three men of great experience to discharge that office, under their inspection. The senate did not confine itself to the policy of maintaining an infant on the throne; it recommended to the tutors to govern the kingdom in such a manner as might be most proper to weaken it; and desired them to burn all the ships, and to hamstring the elephants.

Octavius, the first of the three tutors, immediately set out, and proceeded through Cappadocia. When he arrived in that country, Ariarthes, the sovereign of it, was much astonished to see him without troops or guards; and preparing, without any precaution, to enter Asia, in order to take upon him the government of a people who had not invited him, especially as he knew that the young monarch had already a tutor, named Lyfias, a man of ability and cunning, who was not very scrupulous in his principles, and whom he certainly would not find much disposed to suffer himself to be deprived of his employment. Ariarthes offered to Octavius to accompany him, at the head of an army, the command of which he would resign to him; and he begged him, at least, to accept of an escort. But what escort, in the opinion of the

haughty republican, was equivalent to the name of Rome? He refused the offer, and entered Syria with no other attendants than those who used to follow him in Italy. Without so much as deigning to inform the regent of his arrival, he proceeded straight forwards to Laodicea; caused the ships to be burnt in his presence, and the elephants to be rendered unfit for service. The people being incensed at this arbitrary proceeding, an assassin, employed by Lyfias, taking advantage of a favourable opportunity, put Octavius to death. The conduct of the latter had been imprudent; but in republics, enthusiasts are necessary. He was canonized at Rome; and a statue was erected to his memory, among those of the great men who had shed their blood for their country.

Demetrius imagined that this murder would irritate the senate, and that he should easily obtain permission to go and dethrone the pupil of Lyfias, who was known to be the author of the assassination. He asked leave, therefore, a second time, contrary to the sentiments of Polybius, the historian, one of the greatest politicians of his time, who said to the prince: "Take my advice, and
 "do not twice stumble against the same stone.
 "Have you but one way of getting into Syria?
 "Should a man of your age depend on the will
 "of a senate, composed of unjust and ambitious
 "men? Only dare to break your chains, and you
 "will of course reign." As Polybius had fore-

seen, Demetrius met with a refusal. He then took measures to escape; and the evening before his departure gave a grand entertainment to some young men, who were his usual companions. This was a kind of farewell which he meant to bid them, without informing them of his secret. Polybius fearing that the young prince would suffer himself to be hurried away by pleasure, to which he was much inclined, and that he might lose the opportunity of executing his design, sent him a letter, consisting entirely of ancient maxims, respecting the courage, secrecy, and sobriety, necessary for the accomplishment of great enterprizes. This letter, even if it had fallen into the hands of an enemy, could not have exposed its author to any danger. Demetrius, who comprehended the meaning of it, feigned sudden illness; quitted the entertainment, and set out. When he arrived at a place of safety, he wrote a letter to the senate, filled with excuses, thanks, and promises. The senate pretended great indifference in regard to this event, and suffered the rivals to attack each other: the contest, however, was not of long duration. By means of a report, which Demetrius spread, that he had been sent by the Romans, the people espoused his cause; and he soon got rid of Lyfias and his young pupil, who were both massacred. He then ascended the throne, and was acknowledged king by the Romans.

It is remarked, in the life of Demetrius Soter,

that he favoured an imposture, and was himself a victim to one. Ariarthes king of Cappadocia had married Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great. This princess, who was scarcely advanced beyond the age of childhood at the time of her marriage, remained several years without having a child. She was supposed therefore to be barren; and as she apprehended that this fault might deprive her of the love of her husband and his subjects, she twice pretended to be pregnant, and had the address to give the king two supposititious sons; but she afterwards became really pregnant, and brought forth successively two daughters and a son. As she then declared, and proved to her husband, that the two other children were supposititious, he caused them to be sent out of the kingdom, with a sufficient pension for their maintenance. The eldest, named Ariarthes, went to Rome, and being destitute of talents or courage, seemed to be little affected by his misfortune. On the second, named Holophernes, who was active and enterprising, it made a greater impression. He was sent to Ionia, and forbidden ever to set a foot in Cappadocia.

On the death of Ariarthes, the real son, named also Ariarthes, succeeded his father without any opposition. Demetrius offered him in marriage his sister Laodice, the widow of Perſes king of Macedonia, who had been treated with so much indignity by the Romans. As this alliance dis-

pleased the king of Cappadocia, he protested against it; and his refusal gave offence to that of Syria. The latter listened to the pretensions of Holophernes; encouraged them, and placed him on the throne of Cappadocia. Ariarthes having attacked Holophernes, recovered his crown, and obliged him to take refuge at the court of his benefactor. Demetrius being freed from all care, began to abandon himself, in obscure retreats, to a dissolute life, which exposed him to the contempt of his people. Holophernes observing them in this disposition, conceived a design of mounting the throne of Syria, thus disgraced by a profligate sovereign. He accordingly formed a conspiracy, which was to be seconded by Attalus king of Pergamus, and Ptolemy king of Egypt. It was, however, discovered; and Demetrius this time escaped the danger to which he had been exposed by his declaration in favour of an impostor. But he prepared for himself another, the consequence also of an imposture, which he was not able to avoid.

The kings of Pergamus and Egypt both continued his enemies, and that of Cappadocia naturally united himself to them. While they were exerting themselves with the utmost ardour to find out some method of harassing him, they met with a man, named Heraclides, who had to avenge the death of a brother, and his own banishment. His brother, Timarchus, had been governor of Baby-

lon, when Demetrius ascended the throne; and he himself was treasurer of the province. Both of them were much respected by Antiochus Epiphanes, and consequently attached to Eupator, his young son. Owing either to this attachment, or to their being accused of extortion by the people, Demetrius caused the governor to be beheaded, and the treasurer to be banished. The latter retired to Rhodes; and as he was acquainted with the secrets, as well as the manners and customs of the court of Syria, he sought for a young man qualified by his talents and figure to act properly the part which he intended him to perform. Having met with one Balas, who seemed suited for his purpose, he gave him the necessary instruction, and made him assume the name of Alexander. They then gained over Laodice, the real daughter of Epiphanes, who acknowledged him as her brother, and trusting to the support of the three kings, who were acquainted with, and favoured the project, Heraclides carried his disciple to Rome, and presented him to the senate.

The gravest characters sometimes condescend to act the most ridiculous farces, and often suffer themselves to become the dupes of imposture. Heraclides reminded the conscript fathers of their alliance with Antiochus; their suspicions of Demetrius, and their repugnance to open the way for him to the throne: "Yet you were ignorant," said he, "that Antiochus Epiphanes left any other

“ children but Eupator, who was cruelly assassi-
“ nated, and that one of his children is still alive.”
Then turning to Balas : “ Be not afraid,” added
he, “ illustrious descendant of one of the first
“ kings of Syria. I have drawn you from the
“ misery in which you was buried, to conduct
“ you to the foot of the most powerful and most
“ equitable of tribunals. Speak for yourself, and
“ be persuaded that a cause so just as yours must
“ be approved and supported by the august assem-
“ bly which hears you.” The speech of Balas
alluded chiefly to the attachment of his father,
the future gratitude of the son, and the unalterable
union which would be established between Rome
and Syria.

Though the senate had pretended to be indif-
ferent in regard to the escape of Demetrius, it still
retained a secret displeasure on that account ; and
it was besides of importance for the republic, that
the seeds of discord should be sown in distant
countries, in order that they might solicit its as-
sistance. To the great astonishment of the whole
city, who were convinced of the imposture of
Balas, the senate passed the following decree ;
“ The senate and Roman people having heard the
“ demand of Alexander and Laodice, the children
“ of Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, the
“ friend and ally of the republic, permit the son
“ to prosecute the right given to him by his birth ;
“ and we recommend to our allies to assist him in

“ this enterprize.” The last clause authorized Balas to collect troops ; and immediately excited against Demetrius a multitude of enemies, among whom was Jonathan, chief of the Jews, then in alliance with the Romans, whose prudence and valour added great strength to the party of Balas. Demetrius, being well convinced of the superiority of his rival, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, for the sake of safety, to the house of a friend who resided in Cnidus, a city of Caria, and made preparations for a decisive battle. His left wing penetrated that of the enemy opposed to it; and unfortunately advanced too far in the pursuit. The prince maintained, for a long time, the shock of the centre, and of the other wing of the enemy, hoping to see his own return. He was at last obliged to order a retreat, and remained behind his troops to cover them ; but his horse happening to plunge into a bog, he was abandoned by his soldiers, at the moment when ready to be surrounded by the enemy. He, however, combated alone, on foot, against the multitude, who pressed upon him on all sides, till being at length overpowered, he fell, covered with wounds, amidst a shower of darts, arrows, and javelins, discharged at him from all quarters.

Alexander
Balas, 2846.

Though the king of Egypt could not be ignorant that Balas was an impostor, he gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage. To introduce a sceptre into a family is an object of importance,

by whatever hand it may be borne. Prosperity made the vicious character of the new king display itself in full force. He plunged into debauchery and indecency of every kind; and abandoned the reins of government to the caprices of a favourite, named Ammonius, a man of a gloomy and ferocious disposition. The principal victims of the monarch and the minister were Laodice, the sister of Demetrius, and Antigonus, one of the sons of that prince, who had remained in Syria, at the time when the other two had been conducted to Cnidus. Other acts of violence, exercised against people of all ranks, rendered their government odious. Demetrius, the eldest of the children who had fled, was informed, in his retreat, that the people were discontented; and Lathenes, his host, having procured for him some companies of Cretans, he entered Cilicia at their head. His troops soon increased, and the province submitted to his authority. Apollonius, the governor of Phenicia and Cælesyria, embraced his party; and this man rendered him great services, by gaining over Jonathan, the chief of the Jews, who was hastening to the assistance of Alexander Balas.

This prince finding himself hard pressed called in Ptolemy, his father-in-law, who arrived, having under his standards an immense crowd, whom the prophet compares to the sand on the sea-shore. It might have been believed that he was going to protect Balas; but he carried away his daughter

from him, and gave her to Demetrius. This exchange, it is said, was meant as a punishment, for a conspiracy of the son-in-law against the father-in-law. But whatever may have been the cause of this event, the consequences were exceedingly fatal to Balas. The inhabitants of Antioch, being emboldened, tore to pieces Ammonius, whom they found concealed under a female dress. His master, the king, experienced a fate not much better. Having lost a battle, he fled as far as he could, and endeavoured to find shelter under the tent of an Arab, a nation commonly hospitable; but he was put to death.

Demetrius
Nicanor.

The king of Egypt found it very difficult to make the inhabitants of Antioch consent to have Demetrius for king, as they were afraid of finding in him the vices of his father; and particularly indolence in government, and abuse of authority. Their apprehensions indeed were too well founded. The new king left all the power to Lathenes, the friend of his father-in-law, by whom he had been educated. The latter was both cruel and impolitic. Cruel, because he fought out all those who had been attached to Balas, and put them to death; and impolitic in disgusting the old soldiers who composed the ordinary guard of the kings, and reducing them to a few companies of Cretans, who could not be of much service. His want of address in bringing upon himself the hatred and contempt of the people, and his imprudence in de-

priving himself of his best defense, inspired a resolute man with a design of dethroning Demetrius.

This man, named Diodotus, and afterwards surnamed Tryphon, was of ordinary birth. Balas had made him governor of Antioch; and though it is not known whether he enjoyed that place under his successor, there is reason to think, that, on account of his ability, he was not included by Laſthenes among the number of those disgraced. It is, on the contrary, probable that he gained the confidence of the minister, who shut his eyes against a piratical kind of commerce which he carried on. This commerce consisted in keeping vessels to cruise along the coasts of Asia, where they procured slaves, which Diodotus sold at a great price to the Romans who at that time were fond of being attended by a great number of domestics. By this traffic Diodotus acquired great riches; and he carried his confidence of impunity so far, as to build in the neighbourhood of Antioch a kind of fortress in which he shut up his treasures. It appears indeed that this gave no umbrage either to the king or his minister; for neither of them was aroused from his torpor till Diodotus openly shewed his designs.

Balas had left a son, still an infant, born to him by his wife Cleopatra. Tryphon suddenly appeared with this young Antiochus, and published a manifesto, containing the claims of the young

prince, to whom he declared himself tutor. On this intelligence all the foldiers, whom Demetrius had difcharged without any reason, and a number of other mal-contents, joined the pretender. Demetrius being furprized, was obliged to fhut himself up in Seleucia. Diodotus then took poffeffion of Antioch, together with the elephants, which at that time formed the chief ftrengh of the Afatic armies, and the money in the treasury, and caufed his pupil to be proclaimed. He found means alfo to bring over to his party Jonathan, the Jewish chief, who had been before attached to Balas ; and who, without doubt, confidered himfelf obliged to follow the ftandards of his fon ; but he was ill rewarded for his fidelity.

It may readily be prefumed, that Tryphon did not give himfelf fo much trouble to preferve the crown on the head of an infant. He wifhed to place it on his own ; and when he faw the greater part of Syria fubject to his obedience, he got rid at the fame time of his pupil, and of Jonathan, whom he knew to be attached to the family of Balas. As the young prince was attacked with the ftone, nothing was neceffary but to give orders that the operation of cutting, to which he was obliged to fubmit, fhould be badly performed. He accordingly died ; and Tryphon affumed the diadem. Frequent battles took place between him and Demetrius, and hoftilities were fufpended only by a ftange refolution of the latter. Being

solicited by the inhabitants of the country, situated between the Indus and the Euphrates, who were continually exposed to the incursions of the Parthians, he determined to make war on these people, under a persuasion that if he returned conqueror he would easily recover from Diodotus the rest of his empire. At first he had great success; but the Parthians laid an ambuscade for him, and took him prisoner. Their king, Mithridates, after carrying him about as a captive through the disputed provinces, to detach them from a king who was in a state of slavery, treated him with every kind of respect; assigned to him Hyrcania as a place of residence, with a revenue suited to his dignity, and even gave him his daughter Rhodogune in marriage, but still kept him in a sort of confinement.

On hearing of his imprisonment, his spouse Cleopatra had retired to Seleucia with two children whom she had born to him; but fearing that she might be besieged there by Tryphon, she wrote to Antiochus, the youngest brother of Demetrius, to come to her assistance, and offered him the crown, and her hand. She was, no doubt, induced to make the latter proposal by the knowledge she had of the marriage of Rhodogune. Antiochus, who has been called Sidetes, or the Hunter, accepted her invitation, married her, and having mounted the throne, defeated Tryphon, and routed his army. In flying he scattered money, it is

said, behind him, in order to stop those by whom he was pursued. The accounts given of his death are various. Some say that he was either killed during an assault, or taken and condemned to death by Antiochus; others, that he pierced himself with his own sword; and some that he threw himself into the flames which consumed the city of Orthosia, in which he was besieged.

Antiochus
Sidetes.

Sidetes governed with justice and mildness, and acquired in an uncommon degree the love and esteem of his subjects. He had only one fault; that is, an immoderate passion for the chase. He was one day reproached on this account by a poor peasant, whose cottage afforded him shelter after he had lost his way in pursuing some wild animals. As the man did not know him, Antiochus, in the course of their conversation, introduced some questions respecting the king. "He is a good prince," replied the rustic, "but his too violent passion for the chase prevents him from giving proper application to the business of the state, and obliges him to trust to courtiers, who act only according to their own views." On this occasion Plutarch exclaims: "O kings, do not hope to hear a word of truth, or to know what your subjects think of you, as long as you are surrounded by courtiers, whose principal occupation is to deceive you, and to persuade you that those whom you govern are always contented."

This prince might have lived happy, and reigned with glory, had it not been for his desire of recovering the provinces wrested from him by the Parthians. He gave out, as a pretence for the war, that he meant to deliver his brother from captivity, as if people would readily believe that he was anxious to break the chains of a monarch whose wife and kingdom he possessed. It may be judged by his preparations, that if he loved ease he did not refuse it to others. He suffered his camp to be encumbered with all the appendages of luxury—fiddlers, cooks, comedians, musicians, women, children, and their attendants; so that the army, which contained nearly eighty thousand combatants, consisted of more than three hundred thousand persons. Every thing went on well while they had to march under a summer's sky through the beautiful plains of Media and Babylon. Antiochus gained three battles; but when the period arrived of going into winter quarters, the necessity of lodging all these people made him divide his army into small bodies. The Parthians, ever active and vigilant, stole imperceptibly into the intervals; while the inhabitants, tired of these troublesome guests, concerted with the enemy a general massacre; and in one day all the Syrians were butchered, or loaded with irons, and Antiochus perished along with them, to the deep regret of all his subjects.

The defeats which the king of the Parthians

had sustained made him resolve to release Demetrius, that he might endeavour to effect a diversion by the co-operation of the two brothers; but immediately after the catastrophe of Sidetes he sent in pursuit of his prisoner; who, fearing this change, had hastened his departure. The cavalry dispatched for that purpose not being able to overtake him, he returned to his own kingdom, and unfortunately found there his wife Cleopatra. A captivity of nine years, occasioned by his having involved himself imprudently in a foreign war, had not rendered him wiser. He interfered in a quarrel between Ptolemy Physcon king of Egypt, and his spouse Cleopatra, whom he had divorced. The latter having proposed the throne and her hand to Demetrius, he was tempted by the offer, and invaded Egypt. While besieging Pelusium, the inhabitants of Antioch, Apamea, and several other cities, irritated on account of his tyrannical government, revolted, and received with every testimony of joy a pretended son of Alexander Balas, sent to them by the king of Egypt. This impostor, named Zebina, was the son of a broker of Alexandria. The people were so much displeased with Demetrius, that Zebina soon found himself at the head of an army; and the king, being defeated, and forced to fly, thought he should find an asylum in Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra resided; but she caused the gates to be shut against the husband of Rhodogune,

He then took shelter in Tyre, where he was put to death by the governor, whom he had himself established in that city,

The kingdom of Syria, after this event, was divided between Zebina and Cleopatra. Seleucus, whom the latter had born to Demetrius Nicanor, assumed the title of king in the provinces next to those governed by his mother. Through a dread that this prince might take it into his head to extend his dominions, and perhaps to avenge the death of his father, of which she was not entirely innocent, Cleopatra invited her son to come and confer with her on an affair of importance; and at a moment when he least expected it, she plunged a poniard into his bosom. This Megara then sent for another of her sons, whose age made her hope that he would be a long time on the throne, without entertaining any idea of taking the reins of government into his own hands. He was named Antiochus, and got the surname of Grypus in allusion to his aquiline nose. Syria while partitioned between Cleopatra and Zebina was pretty quiet.

Zebina was mild, merciful, and just; and inspired confidence by his fidelity in performing his promises. Three of his principal officers having revolted, he employed no other means to bring them back to their duty than the hope which he held forth to them of obtaining pardon, and even of recovering their offices. They

laid down their arms without asking any further security than his bare word. After this submission he lived with them on the same terms as before; and never threw out the least reproach against them for their conduct. Though of low birth, he possessed great magnanimity. He never would subject his kingdom to the payment of tribute, nor even to simple homage, which the king of Egypt demanded. From being a benefactor, the Egyptian monarch became his persecutor. He excited Grypus to take up arms against him; and as a pledge of his vengeance, gave to the king of Syria his daughter Tryphœna in marriage. Zebina, hard pressed on two sides, was unable to withstand his opponents. Having lost a battle, he went on board a vessel, in order to fly to Greece; but he was taken on his passage by a pirate, who delivered him up to Grypus, by whom he was put to death. Some pretend that he was killed in battle, but whatever may have been his fate, historians agree in saying that he was universally regretted. He may be classed among the number of those few who by their usurpation neither made themselves formidable, contemptible, nor hated.

Cleopatra.

The war against Zebina freed Grypus, in some measure, from the tutorship of his mother. Cleopatra being offended that he should attempt to shake off her authority, resolved to transfer the sceptre to a third son, whom she had born to

Antiochus Sidetes. As this young prince was an infant, she had reason to hope that his feeble hands would long suffer her to have the management of them. She resolved, therefore, to get rid of Antiochus; and with this view, having prepared a poisonous draught, she offered it to him one day as he returned hot and fatigued from some exercise. The prince, it is said, who had been forewarned of her design, pretending to respect his mother, desired her to drink first; but as she excused herself, he insisted, and declared before the whole court, that there was no other means by which she could be freed from the suspicion entertained of her having an intention to poison him. Cleopatra, finding no evasion, swallowed the poison and expired. She had been the wife of three kings, and the mother of four. She occasioned the death of two of these husbands; killed one of her children with her own hand, and attempted to poison the other. Few of the human race have been found so worthless.

During eight years the reign of Grypus was attended with a considerable degree of tranquillity. To secure this advantage, like a son worthy of Cleopatra, he endeavoured to poison one of his brothers surnamed Cyzicenus, the son of Antiochus Sidetes. The prince, finding his life threatened, put himself in a state of defense; and a lucky chance furnished him with unexpected

Antiochus
Grypus.

assistance. Lathyrus, the son of Phylcon king of Egypt, had married his sister Cleopatra; and though that prince entertained a tender affection for his spouse, he was obliged by his mother to divorce her, and to marry his youngest sister Selene. Both of them were the sisters of Tryphœna the wife of Grypus. The divorced princess finding herself free, offered her hand to Cyzicenus, and instead of a dowry brought him an army. Cyzicenus was defeated, and made his escape; but his wife fell into the hands of Grypus. Her sister Tryphœna requested that her husband would deliver his prisoner into her hands, that she might have the pleasure of putting her to death; but the king, disgusted by this request, accused his wife of cruelty, and declared that he would never comply with any demand of the like kind. Tryphœna imagined that she could see in this firmness of her husband the certain proof of an amour which she already suspected. Her unfortunate sister had taken shelter in one of the temples of Antioch, and while her husband was endeavouring to moderate her fury, she sent thither assassins, who not being able to drag Cleopatra from the altar which she embraced, cut off her hands. They then dispatched her while imploring the god whose temple they prophaned, and uttering curses against the authors of so barbarous a murder.

It would appear that these execrations brought upon the unfortunate family of the Seleucidæ all

the scourges of divine vengeance, as their history after this period is nothing but a disgusting tissue of the most horrid crimes—poisoning, assassination, incest, and fratricide. Five sons of Grypus reigned in succession, and perished by violent deaths. Cyzicenus expired in the flames a victim of sedition. The kingdom being afterwards divided, one part considered Antioch, and another Damascus, as its capital; some cities erected themselves into republics, and others submitted to the power of one ruler called a tyrant. The wives and sisters of the monarchs usurped power, and formed principalities, which were transferred by marriages. Two of them are suspected of having married their own sons. At length irregularity and confusion were carried to such extent, that the Syrians themselves, a people the least delicate perhaps of any in their manners, became tired of them. They expelled, therefore, all these kings who were engaged in bloody contests with each other, and called in to govern them Tigranes king of Armenia.

The Romans, though often applied to by the competitors, had been extremely cautious not to afford to any party such assistance as would give it a preponderance. They received embassies, accepted presents, and suffered them to ruin each other; but the moment for reaping the fruits of their policy at length arrived. Tigranes was conquered by Pompey. When the Armenian re-

ceived from the people the sceptre of Syria, Seleene, the widow of Grypus, had formed a small state, where she educated two sons whom she had born to Antiochus Cyzicenus. The eldest was named Antiochus the Asiatic, and the other Seleucus Cybiosactes. Tigranes dispersed this family, and having taken the mother put her to death. The two sons, though ill able to cope with so powerful a prince, maintained themselves the best way they could, sometimes in one part of the kingdom, and sometimes in another, flattering themselves with the hopes of obtaining the friendship of the Roman republic by means of the presents which they lavished on the senators during their visits to Rome. But when Asiaticus explained to Pompey his pretensions and his hopes, after some pretty severe reproaches respecting the negligence which the Syrian prince had shewn in prosecuting his right, the Roman general said: "The kingdom of Syria belongs to Tigranes; we have conquered him, and consequently his rights have become ours. Thus the empire of Syria belongs to the Roman republic, which is better able to defend it than you." By this decision the kingdom of Syria, so rich, so powerful, and one of the most beautiful gems in the crown of Alexander, became a Roman province. Of the two brothers, the last of the descendants of the Seleucidæ, Antiochus died in obscurity, and Seleucus married Berenice queen of Egypt, his rela-

tion. This princess becoming disgusted with her husband, took the shortest way to get rid of him, and put him to death. The Syro-Median empire lasted two hundred and sixty-three years, during which time it had been exposed to continual agitation. It would appear that the centre of Asia, the richest and most beautiful part of that vast country, which is itself the richest of the four quarters of the world, has been destined to perpetual revolutions. Ninus, Semiramis, and their successors, carried their bloody standards over the plains watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates. These conquerors gave birth to the monarchy of the Assyrians, which was lost in that of the Medes and Persians. The impetuous Alexander conquered and dispersed all those who came in his way; and before he had consolidated his empire, left it to his generals. In consequence of their destroying each other, one only remained master of the kingdoms of Asia. His descendants, known under the name of the Seleucidæ, destroyed each other also. By discord their empire was abandoned to the Romans, who reaped the fruits of it, and governed it by prætors, proconsuls, and generals, till the moment when, without being the centre of the empire of the east, it became the richest part, and afterwards tributary and subject to the Ottomans, who have it still in their possession.

EGYPT.

Ptolemy
Lagus,
2698.

At the time of Alexander's death, Ptolemy Lagus was governor of Egypt. His mother Arsinoë, it is said, was pregnant when Philip king of Macedonia, to whom she was concubine, gave her in marriage to Lagus a Macedonian nobleman. Being unwilling to educate in his house a child of which he was not the father, Lagus caused the one of which his wife was delivered to be exposed. The infant was taken care of by an eagle, which covered it with its wings, and instead of milk fed it with the blood of the animals it caught. This prodigy, invented no doubt to move the heart of Lagus, induced him to send for the child, and to give it education. It appears, therefore, that young Lagus must have been brother to Alexander; and indeed he always shewed great attachment to him. The conqueror honoured him with particular marks of friendship; he raised him to the first posts in the army, which he merited also by his bravery, and entrusted him with the important government of Egypt. Finding himself at the death of the monarch of Asia at a distance from the centre of intrigues, he took advantage of his situation, and of the fortunate circumstances of the moment, to step from the second to the first place, and to maintain himself in his new dignity. Ptolemy Lagus was the chief of the Macedonian dynasty that reigned in Egypt; and

he instituted in honour of his brother a military order, the first with which we are acquainted.

Ptolemy is said to have declared, that he never undertook any wars but such as were necessary, and which could not be avoided. Some of the ancient kings, his predecessors, by their monuments seemed to wish rather to excite the admiration of the people than to promote their advantage; but his, while they displayed magnificence, were attended with utility. Among the chief of them is reckoned the city of Alexandria, on the border of the sea, in a situation proper for uniting within its walls the commerce of three parts of the world. Alexander had built it with that intention; and Ptolemy, by increasing its population, its riches, and the magnificence of its buildings, rendered it the city of cities, the queen of the east. He constructed there the famous pharos, which became the model of so many others. It was a white marble tower of a prodigious height, on the summit of which fires were kindled to direct mariners during the obscurity of the night. He caused the following inscription to be placed upon it: "Ptolemy to the protecting gods, for the good of those who frequent the sea." But the architect who wished to perpetuate his own name, applied these words only on the outer coating. This coating decayed in the course of time, and as long as the pharos existed the following were read: "Sostratus, the Cnidian, to the protecting gods,

“for the benefit of those who frequent the
“sea.”

Ptolemy employed great care in forming the famous library of Alexandria, which he increased to the number of four hundred thousand volumes; and he placed it in a superb edifice, under the inspection of several men of learning, who lodged together in a palace ornamented with gardens and porticoes, where those fond of literature found at all seasons both amusement and instruction. It appears that they lived in common at the expense of the public, by which they were liberally supported. They ate at the same table, and were supplied with every thing in such abundance, as to excite the jealousy and raillery of those who were not admitted to participate with them. This was a remarkable institution, and we may therefore say, that we are indebted to Ptolemy for military orders, and societies of learned men. This library, though so numerous, had a supplement called its daughter. The mother was consumed by accident, and the daughter was committed to the flames by the fanaticism of Omar. After he had taken Alexandria he was intreated to save the library, but he replied: “That if these books contained the same doctrine as the Koran, they
“were useless; and if they contained what was
“contrary to it, they were dangerous.” In consequence of this reasoning, he caused them to be distributed among the baths, where for the space

of six months they served to supply the fires of those public places, which were exceedingly numerous at Alexandria.

Besides the surname of Lagus, that of Soter, or Saviour, was given to Ptolemy by the Rhodians, out of gratitude for his having saved them from the fury of Demetrius Poliorcetes. His own subjects might have given him epithets no less honourable, had they wished to express all his noble qualities. He was mild, beneficent, and easy of access. He was desirous that the meanest person should be suffered to approach him. "They are my friends," said he, "they tell me truths which my courtiers conceal from me." This prince shewed uncommon moderation in his railery, and particularly for a crowned head. A grammarian whom he had one day rallied, having returned a severe answer, all those present trembled for the unhappy man, and expected that the king would inflict upon him some signal punishment. But Ptolemy said: "A king who knows his own dignity ought never to behave to others in such a manner as to make them be wanting in respect. I am the aggressor, he has as much right to be offended with my question as I have to be with his answer; and, therefore, we are on an equal footing." He was fond of inviting his subjects to his table; and if at any time he wanted a sufficiency of plate, he borrowed from them: thus uniting economy with pleasure; the

enjoyment of which is more complete when it is not attended with the remorse of extravagance.

Ptolemy, during the forty years that he reigned, made almost an entire change in the whole face of Egypt. It had been loaded by the ancient kings with colossal statues, and gigantic monuments. These masses had been destroyed and broken to pieces by the arms of the soldiers, much rather than the hand of time; their remains covered cities, choked up the canals, and for cultivated fields substituted rubbish. Ptolemy caused cities to emerge from these ruins; rendered the canals again navigable; restored the fields to agriculture; and in his buildings united the Grecian delicacy to the Egyptian solidity. By his care the ports on the Red sea were opened, and those of the Mediterranean became more secure. He rendered the Delta, that beautiful part of his empire which he inhabited, the centre of commerce; and left in a very flourishing state a kingdom which he had found laid waste by the storms of long anarchy.

Names and
qualities.

His successors, named like him almost all Ptolemies, were distinguished by surnames which expressed their virtues or vices, and even their natural defects: Philadelphus, the lover of his brothers; Euergetes, benefactor; Philopator, lover of his father; Epiphanes, the illustrious; Philometor, the lover of his mother; Physcon, the big-bellied; Lathyrus, the chick-pea; Auletes, the flute-player. Their spouses, who according to the

usage of the country were for the most part their sisters, were called Arsinoe, Berenice, and Cleopatra. It might be imagined that these alliances, perpetuated in the family from race to race, would have been a permanent pledge of friendship and concord; but they on the contrary produced hatred, which not only stained the throne with blood, but occasioned the misery of the people, who were involved by their princes in frequent civil wars. There were also foreign wars of which we shall here give a short sketch; crimes, and virtues; splendid actions; some of those political events which change the fate of nations; and particular catastrophes, which history might present either to the pencil of the painter, or the imagination of the poet.

Ptolemy Soter associated with him on the throne, ^{Philadel-} two years before he died, his second son ^{phus,} Phila- ^{2728.} delphus, to the prejudice of Ceraunus the eldest. It would appear, when we consider the bad qualities of the latter, that this conduct of the father did not arise so much from predilection as from prudent foresight. Ceraunus took shelter in Macedonia with king Seleucus, by whom he was favourably received, and whom he assassinated. After this murder he married Arsinoe the widow, who was his own sister, and who had in her possession the capital of the kingdom. To obtain her hand, he promised, as we have seen, to watch over her children with paternal care; but he butchered

them on the very day of his marriage, and almost in his arms. Arsinoe was once more rendered a widow by the indignation of the people. It is not known whether she waited for these events before she married her brother Philadelphus, with whom she sought refuge after she had torn herself from the arms of Ceraunus. She was much older than Philadelphus, yet she acquired, and preserved till the last moment, complete empire over his mind.

Govern-
ment.

Soter, the son, displayed in a great measure the virtues of his father. He is celebrated for his ability in the art of governing. He regulated with just proportion the taxes, and his own donations. Being always in arms, though he made little use of them, he overawed his neighbours, among whom he acted as mediator and arbiter. He extended navigation, caused commerce to flourish, and attracted foreigners to his states by the privileges which he thought proper to grant them. Alexandria contained a great number of Jews, who by being long settled there had forgot their original language. To render their residence in Egypt more agreeable, and to make them if possible forget Judea, he caused the Bible to be translated into Greek, and this is what is called the version of the seventy.

Sciences.

Philadelphus protected the sciences, as well as those by whom they were cultivated, and for this reason men of science were extremely numerous at his court: Aratus commissioned to enlarge the

library of Alexandria, Aristophanes, who had read all the books in it; Theocritus, Lycophron, and five other commentators, named the seven pleiades; Aristarchus, a severe grammarian; Manetho, an historian; Conon and Hipparchus, mathematicians; Zenodotus, the first commentator of Homer; and two men who scarcely deserve to be inscribed in this list, Sotades, an obscene poet, and Zoilus, a satyrist, whose name has become a term of reproach. Philadelphus, who amused himself sometimes with the malicious disposition of the last, shewed him neither respect nor esteem. One of these two poets died of poverty, and the other by violence, loaded with the hatred and contempt of the public. Philadelphus is reproached on account of his having never pardoned Demetrius Phalereus; because he advised his father to place his eldest son Ceraunus on the throne, and not to grant to the youngest a preference which Demetrius thought unjust. Though illustrious by his learning, and though he had been the minister and the confidant of Soter, these considerations were of no avail with Philadelphus. He confined the imprudent counsellor in a fortress; and he was just going to condemn him to death, when an asp, which stung the minister, saved the monarch from the commission of a crime.

His foresight gave him some idea of the future ^{Romans,} grandeur of the Romans, to whom he sent ambassadors, and from them he received others in

return. The latter were Quintus Fabius Gurges, Quintus Ogulinus, and Cneius Fabius Pictor. The remembrance of their noble and judicious conduct deserves to be preserved. At the end of a splendid repast the king offered to each of them a golden crown, which they accepted; but next morning they were seen placed on the statues of the monarch, which were erected in different public places. This disinterestedness, and delicate manner of shewing their respect for the sovereign of Egypt, gave the Egyptians a high idea of the Romans. Philadelphus loaded them with presents, which he insisted they should carry with them; but when they arrived at Rome they deposited them in the treasury of the republic. The policy of the Egyptian made him always observe strict neutrality between the Romans and the Carthaginians. The latter having asked money from him to carry on the war against the former, he replied: "I cannot assist one friend against another."

Prudent circumspection is remarked, in general, in the government of Philadelphus. He will not, however, be commended for carrying his pacific precautions so far as to get rid of two of his brothers, who might have interrupted his peace. On account of this action he was ironically styled Philadelphus, the lover of his brothers. One of them, named Magas, escaped from his cruel foresight, by seizing, under the title of king, on Ly-

bia and Cyrenaica, of which he was governor; and with this diadem he braved the efforts and threats of his brother. Philadelphus is known as the founder of many cities. He erected a great number of monuments, so superb, that works of extraordinary grandeur, and built in an exquisite taste, were called Philadelphian. He maintained considerable fleets in the Mediterranean, and in the Red sea.

This prince constructed a canal which joined the Red sea to the Nile, except a small interval over which the carriage was performed by camels. By this canal the productions of Arabia, India, Persia, and Ethiopia, were conveyed to Alexandria, which for seventeen centuries carried on the greatest commerce of any city in the world; a commerce which it would be easy to restore to it. We are indebted also to this Ptolemy for the idea of keeping a coffin suspended by a loadstone from the roof of a temple. He intended to have tried this experiment at Alexandria in honour of Arsinoe, his beloved spouse and sister, but was prevented by death. This prince, who was far from being warlike, always kept on foot an army of two hundred thousand infantry, forty thousand cavalry, three hundred elephants, and two thousand war chariots. He had also an arsenal containing arms for three hundred thousand men; and a treasury capable of supporting all these expenses. His troops, it is said, were badly disci-

plined ; and, like their king, abandoned in the bosom of the cities to ease and luxury. He enervated himself at an early period ; and even while still young, died of old age amidst pleasure.

Euergetes,
2785.

The reign of his son Euergetes began by a successful war against Syria. He brought back with him a great many idols, which Cambyfes had taken from the Egyptians, and placed them again in their temples. By this act of religion he gained the friendship of the people, and got the surname of Euergetes the Benefactor. An inscription still preserved, assigns to him with the sovereignty of Egypt, that of Syria, Lybia, Phenicia, Cyprus, Illyria, Caria, and the Cyclades ; and makes him to have subdued the provinces beyond the Euphrates, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Thrace, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Media, as far as Bactriana. To these, some add the two shores of the Red sea, and the provinces of Ethiopia. If this enumeration is correct, few monarchs have been so powerful. After this, ought we to be surpris'd that he should have been expos'd to the arts of adulation ?

Hair of
Berenice.

His spouse Berenice, when she saw him set out for his Syrian expedition, made a vow, that if he returned safe she would consecrate to the gods her hair, which was exceedingly beautiful. He returned victorious to his kingdom, and Berenice, faithful to her vow, caused her hair to be cut off, and deposited it on the altar of Venus, in the temple built at Alexandria by Philadelphus, in

honour of Arfinoe his beloved spouse. Soon after, by some neglect of the keepers of the temple, the hair disappeared, and the king being highly incensed, was going to punish them. Conon, however, an able astronomer, presented himself before the monarch towards the close of the day, and said : “ Raife your eyes towards the seven stars in “ the tail of the dragon, and there you will behold “ the hair of Berenice, which was carried away, “ and placed in the heavens as a happy constellation.” The king, no doubt, wished to be deceived, for a knowledge of the heavens was familiar to the Ptolemies. They are even the authors of an æra known by their name. The courtiers, after the example of the master, seemed to be convinced of the truth of the miracle; and it was celebrated in verses by the poets, another pest of courts. We have still remaining on the hair of Berenice a hymn of Callimachus, translated by Catullus.

Euergetes was not only a lover of the sciences, Literature. but he wrote himself historical memoirs, which were esteemed; and by his care the library of Alexandria was increased. In the course of his conquests he transmitted to it every thing valuable that he met with; and when he returned to his kingdom he dispatched learned men into every quarter, giving them orders to procure books let the expence be what it might. When he could not obtain curious works but by borrowing them,

he caused beautiful copies to be made of them, and, after the example of his father Philadelphus, sent the copies to the owners, and kept the originals.

In returning from his Syrian expedition he passed through Jerusalem, and being desirous of seeing the Jewish ceremonies, he offered up sacrifices to the god of Israel. The collector of his tribute was a Jew, named Joseph, who may be considered as the patriarch of farmers of the public revenue. He was the nephew of the high-priest Onias, and had come to Egypt to defend his uncle, against whom complaints had been carried to the king. During his journey he met with some rich financiers, who were going to court to make an offer of farming the taxes of Cælefyria. They travelled in the most sumptuous manner; but Joseph with the greatest simplicity. The plainness of his equipage became a subject for their railery; and as they found him an agreeable companion, they admitted him into their company. Joseph, by listening to their conversation, penetrated into their projects; discovered their means and resources; became acquainted with the advantages of the plan they had in view; presented himself as a competitor with them for farming the taxes; made an offer, and obtained the preference. It would appear that in collecting these taxes he employed measures not agreeable to the people; since the king was obliged to give him a guard of

two thousand men to support him : but he acquired immense riches ; and returned to Judea to enjoy his fortune at a distance from the maledictions of those whom he had ruined.

The mind, fatigued with the horrors of Syria, ^{Philopater. 2782.} may have found some repose during these three Egyptian reigns, which however are not entirely free from reproach ; but the reigns which follow will subject the reader to new pain. Ptolemy Philopator, that friend of his father, is suspected of having put him to death, that he might reign the sooner. This imputation, even if ill founded, is a proof that filial duty was not considered as his favourite virtue ; and that if he acquired a name which does him honour, it was given to him only through irony. He has been called also Tryphon, that is, the Effeminate ; and is branded with being attached to the most infamous debauchery. He had a brother named Magas, who was much respected ; and as he dreaded him on that account, he put him to death. The sword was for some time suspended over the head of this unhappy prince, by the remonstrances of Cleomenes king of Sparta, to whom Euergetes had given an asylum in Egypt. The prudence and rare qualities of the Spartan prince rendered him formidable to Sosibius, the minister and favourite of Ptolemy ; and the efforts he made, by reasoning and intreaty, to save Magas, afforded to the jealous Sosibius an opportunity of ruining the fugitive monarch in the

mind of the king. Suspicion was soon followed by commission of the crime, and Cleomenes was sacrificed.

This was only the sacrifice of one man, a great crime no doubt; but a whole people condemned to degradation, or death, is what characterizes this monster, who sported with the honour and lives of others. Because the high-priest of the Jews had refused to suffer Ptolemy to enter the temple of Jerusalem, he resolved to avenge himself on all the Jews in his dominions, for the affront which he pretended had been offered to him in Judea. They were exceedingly numerous, especially at Alexandria. By a solemn edict, he ordered them either to adore the pagan deities, or to suffer themselves to be marked with a hot iron, which would imprint on their forehead a leaf of ivy, the symbol of Bacchus. All of them, except about three hundred, preferred this infamy to apostacy. Being incensed at this almost general resistance, he commanded all the Jews resident in Egypt to be brought in chains to Alexandria; where they were confined, to the number of about forty thousand, in the hippodrome, or place destined for the exhibition of horse races. Elephants were to be introduced into this place to tread them to death with their feet; and the time was fixed for the execution of this cruel sentence. The people, always fond of bloody spectacles, twice surrounded the hippodrome, and twice was the execution sus-

pended by Ptolemy oversleeping himself after intoxication. Philopator considered these events as a warning from the deity, and he dismissed the unfortunate Jews under a firm conviction that they were indebted for their deliverance to a miracle, performed in their favour as a recompense for their fidelity to the law of their ancestors. But they disgraced this noble conduct, by massacring the three hundred who had bowed the knee before the idols. Notwithstanding this amnesty, forty thousand Jews are reckoned to have perished in Alexandria alone.

Unfortunately the king had in Sosibius a minister very proper to gratify his fury, whatever might be the object of it. Arsinoë, the wife and sister of Philopator, had followed him in his warlike expeditions, haranguing the soldiers, and combatting at their side. After having been barren for several years, she brought her husband a son. Her fecundity emboldened her to ask favours; but as she became importunate, the king complained, and shewed a desire to get rid of her. As Sosibius had an official assassin, named Philammon, he detached him against the queen, and she was put to death. The female attendants of this unhappy princess took advantage of a sedition to attack the murderer in their turn, and they massacred him with stones and clubs.

Sosibius held the reins of government for sixty Sosibius, years. He was the most artful and the most cor-

rupt minister that ever existed; and made no scruple of employing the most horrid crimes to accomplish his views. We are assured by the historian Polybius, that he was the cause of the murder of Lyfimachus, the son of Ptolemy; of Magas, the king's brother; of Arfinoe, the daughter of Lyfimachus; of Cleomenes, king of Sparta; and, in the last place, of queen Arfinoe. After so long a ministry, marked with so much cruelty, he died in peace at a great age: a singular instance perhaps in history. It appears that he quitted his employments before the death of the king. It is even believed that the people, incensed by the murder of the queen, insisted on Sosibius being disgraced: a punishment very inadequate to so many crimes. Ptolemy led an obscure life, immersed in infamous pleasures, and abandoned his kingdom to corrupted men, and to women void of modesty, who in his name distributed the civil and military employments to people similar to themselves. This worthless prince, either through scruples of conscience or vanity, gave away large sums in charity, and built temples. He left behind him a son five years of age.

Epiphanes,
2799.

It appears that, after the disgrace of Sosibius, the people and the nobility had, as it were, forced the king to give the ministry to Tlepolemus, who at that time had the care of the finances. The young prince was put into the hands of a person named Agathocles, to be educated. As Agathoclea,

the sister of Agathocles, and their mother Oenante, resided in the palace, they were the first who heard of the king's death, which they concealed till they had carried away all the gold, silver, and jewels. From being keepers of the young prince, these people wished to raise themselves to the regency of the kingdom. Agathocles appeared in public, holding the young prince in his arms, and shedding tears. He harangued the courtiers, and implored their protection for the infant, which had been recommended, he said, to his care by the dying monarch. He even had the boldness to assert that Ptolemy aspired to the throne. This calumny, however, proved unfortunate to the authors of it. The people were so incensed, that they assembled in a tumultuous manner; tore the child from the arms of Agathocles; carried him to the hippodrome, and placed him on the throne. Agathocles, Agathoclea his sister, and Oenante their mother, were brought before the child as if to be tried; and being condemned in his name, were executed before his eyes. The populace dragged their bloody carcases through the streets of Alexandria, and tore them to pieces. All the relations and partisans of the family were subjected to the same fate.

The Egyptian nobility were at great variance in regard to the regency. In this state of embarrassment they thought proper to refer the matter to the Romans; and the senate did not let slip this

opportunity of acquiring honour. They sent Marcus Lepidus to Egypt to take upon him the tutorship of Ptolemy; but he soon resigned his charge to Aristomenes, the Acarnanian, a man of great experience. The regent governed with general approbation; and when Ptolemy had attained to the age of fourteen, which was that fixed among the Egyptians for the majority of their kings, he delivered the kingdom to him in a most flourishing condition. It is in vain to enquire why he was surnamed Epiphanes, that is, the Illustrious; for he had scarcely got the supreme authority into his hands, when he employed it in such a manner that every thing fell into disorder. Aristomenes having presumed to give him advice, he caused him to be poisoned. His subjects revolted, and he appeased them by promises; but as soon as he had it in his power he broke his word, and put the rebels to death with the most cruel torments. It is not improbable that the mistrust which this conduct inspired, contributed to his destruction. His courtiers often heard him speak of a war, which he proposed to undertake; but as they saw no money, they asked him where he would find enough to defray the expenses of his intended expedition. He replied: "My friends are my money." As they understood by this, that he meant to carry on the war at their expense, they dispatched him by poison.

Ptolemy
Philometor.

He left two sons, Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Physcon, with a daughter named Cleopatra,

under the tutelage of Cleopatra their mother. This princess discharged with great honour the duties attached to the regency. As Physcon was suspected of having hastened her death, the people rose against him, and would have destroyed him had not Philometor taken him under his protection. He obtained this surname on account of the love and gratitude which he shewed towards his mother. This prince maintained an unfortunate war against the king of Syria, in the course of which he was taken prisoner. The Alexandrians despairing of his return, caused Physcon to assume the crown. The Syrian, whose object was to subdue Egypt, carried back Philometor, restored his kingdom, and even gave him troops to oppose his brother; but he kept Pelusium, the key of Egypt, on his side, in order that he might be able to enter it again with the greater facility, after the two brothers should be exhausted. The deceiver, however, was deceived: they made up their quarrel, through the mediation of their sister Cleopatra, and reigned for some time in great harmony.

Concord between brothers is rare, and particularly between brothers born to royalty. Philometor, the mildest of men, being harassed by Physcon, instead of involving his people in the horrors of a civil war, had recourse to the arbitration of the Romans. Philopator, the father of these princes, having been educated as we may say by the republic, had always kept up with it a close intimacy.

The presents which he sent to Rome, during the whole course of his reign, were so great, and transmitted with so much regularity, that they might be considered as a tribute. Philometor went thither himself; arrived on foot, without any attendants, clad in a mean dress; and stopped at the house of a painter from Alexandria. As soon as the senate were informed of his arrival, they procured him a lodging, furniture, and servants suitable to his rank; sent some of its most distinguished members to visit him; and admitted him to plead his cause. The decision was attended with no difficulty. The kingdom of Egypt had always belonged to the eldest, and consequently it was proper that it should be given entirely to Philometor. But the senate considering that Physcon had already reigned, and being still more moved by political reasons, which told them that it was for the interest of the republic that the kingdom should not be left entirely in one hand, they adjudged Egypt to Philometor, and Cyrenaica to Physcon. The latter desired that they would add to his share the island of Cyprus; and in his turn went to Rome to request that favour: as this dismemberment still tended to weaken the strongest of the two brothers, it was granted.

It was not without regret that Philometor saw himself ready to be deprived of so noble a possession. He delayed, therefore, to give it up; and temporized with the greater hope of being able to keep this

island, as Physcon, being otherwise employed, was not in a condition to seize it by force. His debauchery and cruelty had rendered him so odious to the inhabitants of Cyrene, that they revolted; attacked him personally, and left him half dead on the spot. Physcon, judging of his brother by himself, believed him to be the author of the revolt; and he repaired to Rome to complain to the senate, and to demand back Cyprus. He returned with ambassadors, who were charged to prevail on Philometor to resign his right to the island. The latter evaded giving a definitive answer; and both parties having prepared troops, the Romans suffered them to proceed to hostilities. Though Physcon was defeated and taken prisoner, his brother, always indulgent, not only restored him to liberty, but put him in possession of his kingdom of Cyrene, and gave him an indemnification for the island of Cyprus, which he kept. He then carried the war into Syria, and died of his wounds in the arms of victory. It is astonishing that the courage of a prince who died combating should have been doubted. This is the only reproach that can be thrown out against him. It is founded on this circumstance, that in a battle he kept himself at a distance from danger. From this it may be concluded, that he had the courage of a general, and not that of a soldier; but we ought not to infer that he had none at all, since he exposed himself so far as to receive mortal wounds.

Phyſcon,
2858.

On the death of Philometor two parties appeared; one for Cleopatra, who wiſhed to place on the throne a ſon ſtill an infant, and the other for Phyſcon. They, however, entered into an agreement, by which it was ſettled that Phyſcon ſhould marry his ſiſter, the widow of his brother, and reign with her as long as ſhe lived, but that the ſon of Philometor ſhould be declared heir to the crown. Here the reign of Phyſcon in Egypt commences. We ſhall give an account of the actions of this tyrant, but in as brief a manner as poſſible, as if we were treading upon burning coals.

Phyſcon married his own ſiſter; but on the very wedding-day he butchered his nephew at the breaſt of his mother. She brought him, however, a ſon, whom he named Memphitis; becauſe he was at Memphis, employed in acts of religion, when his wife lay-in. Having already acquired the ſurname of Phyſcon, or the big-bellied, which denoted his deformity, he was ſtigmatized with that alſo of Kakergetes, which ſignifies evil-doer, a title which he too well merited. All thoſe who opposed him when he aſſumed the crown, he cauſed to be put to death. From ſuch a monſter this is not aſtoniſhing; but thoſe even who had been favourable to him were treated in the ſame manner, becauſe having been unfaithful to his nephew they might be ſo to him. It is not exaggeration to ſay, that the ſtreets of his two capitals,

Alexandria and Cyrene, were often inundated with blood. His barbarous orders were executed by foreign soldiers, ferocious men, who knew nobody but him; and who being well paid, served him with blind obedience. His fear and suspicion inspired him with the most atrocious resolutions. He had done so much mischief to the city of Alexandria, that he was every moment in apprehension of some revolt. That he might deprive it, therefore, of its principal force, he caused the most distinguished part of the youth to be massacred, while they were assembled at their exercises in the hippodrome. Their fathers, mothers, and relations fled, and deserted the city in crowds. In their room he invited thither all those who chose to go, and put them in possession of the furniture, and every thing else, that had belonged to the fugitives; but these new citizens soon perceived, by the severity of the taxes, and oppression of every kind, what confidence ought be placed in the kindness of a villain.

The queen had a daughter by Philometor, named Cleopatra, like herself. This princess was so unfortunate as to excite the affection of Physcon, who first debauched, and then married her, after he had divorced her mother. After the massacre of Alexandria he retired to Cyprus with his young spouse, to avoid the fury of the people, who forced the repudiated queen to resume the crown. The king, on this intelligence, thought

he already saw his son Memphitis invited to Egypt by his mother, and substituted in his room. He, therefore, sent for his son in the utmost haste, and caused him to be put to death. As soon as the crime was known at Alexandria, the fury of the people against the tyrant was doubly inflamed. They loaded him with imprecations, broke to pieces his statues, and declared him excluded for ever from the throne. The Alexandrians, touched by the grief of the mother, endeavoured to alleviate her affliction by the most public testimonies of their esteem. Physcon having heard of these transports of affection towards her, and of the hatred entertained against himself, imagined that this indignation of the people, so strongly expressed, was entirely owing to his old spouse. As the birth of Cleopatra was to be celebrated exactly about this time, under pretence of being reconciled to her, the king sent her a box, said to contain a rich present; but when she opened it, she found the limbs and head of her own son.

One might believe that nature had endeavoured to make Physcon a monster, in every sense of the word. He was short of stature; had an excessive large belly, and enormous head, and a savage look. Though he had twice exhibited his hideous figure at Rome, the Roman ambassadors sent to his court could not behold him on his throne without a mixed sentiment of astonishment and horror. The republic had charged them to

visit Greece and Macedonia, which had been subjected to its government ; and they were afterwards to proceed, in succession, to the courts of Egypt, Syria, Pergamus, and Bythia, to examine the state of the affairs of these kingdoms. The Romans derived more than one advantage from each of these missions. Among the number of their ambassadors there were always young persons who were thus accustomed to public business. The senate, by the information they received from their report, were enabled to judge respecting the events which took place in these kingdoms as if they had been on the spot, and to pursue the proper measures with safety and effect. These envoys, by their noble and polite behaviour, their conciliating disposition, and offers of service, sometimes followed with acts of kindness, inspired a general esteem for the Roman people ; and, in some measure, prepared nations for the yoke about to be imposed on them. Physcon received the ambassadors with every mark of distinction. He perhaps was too fond of displaying before them his riches, and pointing out to them the beauty of his kingdom. They made a tour through it with the curiosity of persons who had some interested view ; and were convinced that Egypt might be rendered one of the most powerful states in the world, had it been governed by a better prince.

It requires no great ability to be wicked ; but Sciences.

those who are excessively wicked require ability to succeed. Physcon's talents were considerable. During the short intervals between his fits of debauchery, he cultivated the sciences and the fine arts. It is even said that he possessed great learning, and that he could converse on every subject with the utmost ease. A history of his own time, which he wrote, was highly esteemed. He commented on Homer, increased the library of Alexandria, and shewed his generosity to men of letters by gratifications and pensions; but by a singular contrast, it was under his reign that the sciences began to decline in Egypt. When they abandoned Asia, Greece, and the islands of the Archipelago, frightened by the wars of the successors of Alexander, they found an asylum under the Ptolemys. Grammarians, physicians, painters, architects, poets, and philosophers, flocked to Alexandria, where a magnificent library was opened; and where the immense porticoes of a superb museum collected men fond of instructing each other, and facilitated a communication of knowledge. But without liberty these advantages become useless. Physcon, a suspicious tyrant, wished not only to enchain speech, but to overawe the thoughts. This restraint depopulated the academies of Alexandria, and reduced Egypt, which had been the seat of the arts and the sciences to a state of sterility, which has still increased to the present day.

Phyfcon, that monster of cruelty, lived feventy-
 three years, and died a natural death, in the bo-
 fom of Alexandria, which he had inundated with
 blood. By Cleopatra, his niece, he had two fons,
 Lathyrus (Chich-pea) and Alexander, with three
 daughters, Cleopatra, Selene, and Tryphœna. We
 might write the hiftory of this family in a few
 lines, as follows : Phyfcon left the throne to his
 widow, with the liberty of placing on it, after her,
 whichever of her fons ſhe might think proper.
 She made choice of Alexander, the youngelt, as
 being the eafieft to govern. Lathyrus took shel-
 ter in Cyprus; but the people, difcontented with
 the injuftice of his mother, obliged her to recal
 him. She, however, did not fuffer him to par-
 ticipate in the throne, until he had repudiated
 Cleopatra, his eldeft fiftter, whom he loved, and
 married Selene, the youngelt, for whom he ſhew-
 ed only indifference. But his mother thought him
 proper for her defigns. By new intrigues ſhe ex-
 pelled Lathyrus from the throne, and placed on it
 Alexander. The two brothers carried on war
 againft each other. Alexander having difcovered
 that his mother wifhed to get him affaffinated, pre-
 vented her by putting her to death. As this action
 difguffed the Egyptians, they drove him from the
 kingdom, and recalled Lathyrus. Alexander was
 killed while endeavouring to return to Cyprus,
 and left a fon, named Alexander alfo. In the laft

Lathyrus.
 Alexander.
 2887.

place, Lathyrus died, and left only one daughter, named Cleopatra, or Berenice.

We might fill up this outline, not with noble actions, for these no longer took place in Egypt, but with wars, in which a distinguished part was acted by the Jews. Cleopatra was fond of these people, and had for her prime ministers two Israelites, great extortioners. Lathyrus, on the other hand, hated them; and it was on account of this aversion that Cleopatra excited against her son the odium of the people, and caused him to be expelled from Egypt, by the following infernal stratagem. She prevailed on two of her eunuchs to suffer themselves to be wounded, and covered with blood. They appeared in the market-place, crying out that they had been reduced to that state by defending their mistress, on whom her son had attempted to commit a rape; and however much the people of Egypt were accustomed to crimes, this one excited general indignation, to which Lathyrus fell a victim.

Cyrenaica.

In the war which he carried on against the Jews, the following atrocious action is said to have taken place. His troops being cantoned in some villages, the inhabitants of which he suspected not to be sincere in their submission, he collected all the women and children, and caused them to be cut to pieces, and boiled in cauldrons, as if he had intended to regale his army with this horrid re-

past. He committed this barbarity in order to strike a terror into the people, and to prevent them from making any attempt against him. Lathyrus was as little sparing of his own subjects. On account of a revolt, which took place in Thebes, the most beautiful city of his kingdom next to Alexandria, he rased it to the foundation. Some idea may be formed of the legitimate children of Physcon, from the following picture: of his two sons, one killed his mother, and the other butchered, without distinction, his own subjects, as well as foreigners. The three daughters massacred each other. One illegitimate child, named Apion, the son of Irene, a concubine, had no resemblance to his father. He confined himself to Cyrenaica, of which Physcon had made him king, and never interfered with the affairs of Egypt. This small kingdom flourished under his government. It contained five principal cities, well built, extremely populous, and all places of great trade. Near one of them, named Berenice, but which originally had been called Hesperis, lay the garden of the Hesperides, celebrated by the beauty of its fruits, and a river, named Lethe. Both the garden and the river have been an abundant source of fiction for the poets. After a reign of twenty years, Apion, thinking to ensure the happiness of his people, left his kingdom to the Romans; but his wish was not gratified. The republic took only those parts which suited its convenience, and abandoned the

rest to the mercy of those tyrants by whom it was seized, and of factions produced by anarchy. The Romans, however, had some pity on these unfortunate people, and sent Lucullus to their relief. Having asked Lucullus to give them a plan of government, he made the following reply, which was made also by Plato to their ancestors: "A people so rich as you are can never submit to the authority of laws."

Alexander
II, 2923.

Lathyrus left only one legitimate daughter, named Cleopatra, who was placed on the throne by the Alexandrians: but she had a cousin, the son of Alexander the brother of Lathyrus, named Alexander, like his father. When his mother Cleopatra was obliged to suffer the crown of Egypt to be taken from her, she sent young Alexander with a great deal of riches to Cos, an island which abounded with learned men, as being a place where he was likely to receive the best education. Mithridates having taken Cos, and carried with him the young prince and his riches to his kingdom of Pontus, Alexander seeing with what readiness Mithridates got rid of his own children on the slightest pretence, was much afraid for himself on account of his great riches. He fled for safety to the camp of Sylla, who sent him to Egypt when intelligence was received at Rome of the death of Lathyrus. His cousin Cleopatra, who was only seventeen years of age, had already borne the crown six months. An arrangement took

place between them, and, according to the custom of their ancestors, they entered into the nuptial bond; but the result was agreeable to ancient usages. On the nineteenth day after the marriage Alexander put his wife to death, either because she was not agreeable to his taste, or because he was unwilling to have a spouse who possessed an equal right to the throne. This crime produced a revolt in Alexandria. Some say that the inhabitants killed the murderer, and others, that he escaped from their hands, and reigned several years after, but that he exercised so many cruelties, and abandoned himself to so great irregularities, that his subjects expelled him, and that he died at Tyre, to which he had fled, after taking the precaution to send before him a great deal of riches.

The last opinion is the most probable. Alex-
 ander certainly survived the assassination of his wife
 long enough to see himself opposed by a competitor, whom the Egyptians raised up against him. For want of a legitimate prince, they chose a bastard of Lathyrus, named Ptolemy Auletes, or the Flute-player. Alexander complained at Rome; but he died before he knew with what success his application had been attended. He had made a will by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs, not so much through affection to the republic as a desire to occasion embarrassment to his rival. This will gave rise to violent debates in

Ptolemy
 Auletes,
 2928.

the senate. The succession was a strong temptation to the Romans ; but as they had acquired Cyrenaica by the will of Apion, and Bithynia by that of Nicomedes, they were afraid that by accepting Egypt they should give too evident proofs of their avarice and ambition. It was therefore determined that they should transport to Rome the riches deposited at Tyre ; and that in regard to the kingdom, they should suffer Auletes to be installed without openly approving or disapproving of the measure.

The first care of this prince was to cause himself to be acknowledged king of Egypt by the republic. The negotiation which took place on this subject produced a very large sum to Julius Cæsar, then consul, and deeply involved in debt, and another to Pompey, whose influence was necessary to get the decision passed in the senate. By the payment of about one million sterling, Auletes obtained the title of an ally of the Roman people. Another bastard of Lathyrus, who had seized on the island of Cyprus, not being artful enough to purchase, like Auletes, the consent of the Romans, was declared by a decree of the senate to have forfeited all right to the throne. He requested assistance from his brother ; but the latter refused, that he might not displease the Romans. The Egyptians, incensed at this servile timidity, expelled him from the throne of Egypt, and placed on it his daughter Berenice, for whom

they endeavoured to find a husband capable of supporting her ; but they made a bad choice. Seleucus, her nearest relation, a prince of the family of the Seleucidæ, whom they gave to her, was so ugly and disgusting, that he got the name of the Scullion. His soul corresponded to his body. He violated the tomb of Alexander the Great ; and for the golden coffin which contained his body he substituted one of glass. He became so odious and insupportable to the queen, that she caused him to be strangled. He was succeeded by Archelaus, said to be the son of Mithridates the Great ; but who was only the son of his first lieutenant, high-priest of Comana, in Pontus, an excellent officer, and endowed with virtues truly royal.

While these events were taking place in Egypt, Auletes had gone to Rome to solicit assistance. When at Rhodes, he learned that Cato had arrived at that island. As this was a favourable opportunity for making himself acquainted with the state of affairs, and the measures to be pursued, he sent notice to Cato that he wished to speak to him, and imagined that the Roman would with ready obedience pay him a visit. But Cato replied, " Let him come to me." When Auletes was introduced to him, he found a man plainly dressed, and with a very humble equipage. The republican received the monarch as if he had been an ordinary citizen, and listened to him with atten-

tion. The reader perhaps will not be displeased to see Rome as it was at that time painted by the hand of Cato. "How," said he to the king, "can you abandon the most beautiful country in the world, in order to go to Rome, where you will be exposed to the most contemptuous treatment from the great, who are as avaricious as they are factious? I must candidly tell you that all the riches of Egypt would not be sufficient to gratify their thirst of money. You may rest assured that a prince who brings with him only misery and complaints, will get nothing from them; and if you obtain a few protectors you will find in them as many new masters. Return to Egypt; and endeavour by a wise and moderate government to gain the affection of your subjects, which you have lost by your imprudence." Cato offered to accompany him, and to exert all his influence with the Egyptians, to induce them to receive him. So noble and generous a resolution was not suited to Auletes. He, however, hesitated; but he continued his journey to Rome.

It might be judged from the conduct of the Egyptian monarch, that what affected him most in the conduct of Cato, was the account which he gave of the state of venality at Rome. He resolved to take advantage of these hints; and his success exceeded his hopes. We may form some idea of this monarch's arrival at Rome, when we

suppose him preceded by a report of his bringing with him the whole riches of his empire. Pompey received him at his house with great magnificence; and the most celebrated of the senators, Gabinius, Bibulus, and Marcellinus, were eager to attend him. The Alexandrians having sent ambassadors to Rome to plead their cause, their orator was thrown into prison, and their chief with several of his colleagues was assassinated. The criminals were tried before some of the tribunals and acquitted; and the unjust judges, accused in their turn, were declared innocent. But money was necessary to pay for all these crimes; and the king's treasures were exhausted. Recourse was then had privately to usurers; and Pompey himself promoted the loans, by becoming surety for the monarch, which he could indeed do without running any risk, as the money only passed through the hands of Auletes, to come at last into his own. Cæsar at this time was absent in Gaul.

This corruption was notorious; but so many people were interested in it that no one dared to complain. Ptolemy saw himself on the point of obtaining an army, the command of which, as an inexhaustible source of riches, was solicited by several of the ablest generals of the republic, among whom was Pompey, when some honest men in the senate, for want of better means to oppose the measure, employed superstition. Por-

cus Cato opened the book of the Sybilline prophecies, and read, or pretended to read, the following words: "If a king of Egypt shall apply to you for succour, assist him, but not with troops." This oracle entirely destroyed the hopes of Auletes, who being stripped of his riches, set out, pursued by his creditors, to avoid whom he was obliged to conceal himself in an asylum. But avarice, always active and vigilant, exerted itself in his favour. His partisans at Rome, those who had lent him money, and who were unwilling to lose what they had advanced, wrote to the generals of the republic, in the neighbourhood of Egypt, that the restoration of Ptolemy to the throne would be a good stroke of policy, which would make the fortune of the person who should accomplish it. They pointed out to them the means of eluding the oracle, and of employing in that expedition the armies of the republic, without the fear of incurring blame. Several of them refused; but Gabinius, who commanded in Syria, undertook the affair for the sum of about two millions sterling, to be paid to him when Auletes should be seated on to the throne. He accordingly entered Egypt, having the king in his army. His success was rapid. Pelusium was the first place that he took, and the Egyptian monarch wished to put the inhabitants to the sword; but the Roman general opposed this cruel and impolitic measure.

Archelaus, the queen's husband, who attempted to check their progress, was defeated in a general engagement, and taken prisoner. Gabinius might have immediately put an end to the war; but in consequence of a large sum offered to him by Archelaus, he pretended that the latter had privately escaped, and then demanded a new sum from Ptolemy, in order to carry on the war. Rabirius, a Roman knight, was ready in the camp to advance to the monarch, at considerable interest, the required sum, which was conveyed into the hands of the general. The war was then resumed with new vigour, and terminated by a battle in which Archelaus was killed.

As soon as Auletes found himself master of Alexandria, he sacrificed to his resentment his daughter Berenice, because she had dared to wear the crown during his exile, though she had done so by compulsion. He afterwards put to death all the opulent citizens, under a pretence that they had supported the rebels, and confiscated their property, which served to pay Gabinius. The Alexandrians, plundered and ruined, were reduced to a state of despair; but, though strongly inclined to revolt, they were over-awed, as well as the other cities, by the Roman soldiers whom Gabinius had left behind him. These people, however, whom the shadow of a Roman made to tremble when they attempted to defend their own property, became as furious as lions when a Roman

foldier happened, by accident, to kill a cat. They tore the unhappy culprit to pieces.

All the extortion of Auletes was not sufficient to satisfy Rabirius. Having urged the monarch for payment, the latter replied: "I see no means of discharging the debt; unless you consent to take the management of my revenues, and thus reimburse yourself gradually from what you may have in your hands." Rabirius did not perceive the snare which was laid for him. From being a Roman knight he condescended to become a tax-gatherer; and when he had taken upon him responsibility, Auletes found a sufficiency of pretences for causing him to be arrested. Rabirius exclaimed against this act of injustice; and Pompey, who had been surety at Rome, seemed highly displeased with the king's conduct; but, as there was little to be hoped, and every thing to be feared from a cruel and avaricious prince, Rabirius thought himself exceedingly happy that he was suffered to escape from prison, and to quit Egypt. Such was the manner in which Auletes paid his debts. This was the last event of a reign of thirty years; much too long for his people, ignominious for himself, and attended with very little honour to the Romans. They, indeed, wished to bring to justice the two offenders, Gabinius and Rabirius, who were criminally prosecuted on their return to Rome; but the eloquence of Cicero saved Rabirius from pu-

nishment, though not from shame. Gabinius was banished; but those by whom they had been instigated, and who gained by their dilapidations, continued to walk about in Rome with their usual confidence: a shameful instance of impunity, the usual forerunner of the destruction of empires.

Auletes had two sons, both named Ptolemy, and two daughters, Cleopatra and Arfinoe, the former of whom has been celebrated in history. He disposed of his crown in favour of his eldest son and daughter, on condition of their entering into the bonds of marriage. Cleopatra was seventeen years of age, and her brother thirteen. Auletes recommended his children to the Roman people, and begged them in his will to take them under their protection. The senate accepted this honourable office, and entrusted the execution of it to Pompey. The eunuch Pothinus was appointed prime-minister, and Achillas commander of the troops.

These two men were not much pleased with a queen, who not only seemed little disposed to suffer herself to be governed, but even shewed a desire of commanding. By threats, or bad treatment, they obliged Cleopatra to leave her court. She retired to Syria and Palestine to raise troops; and returned boldly to give battle to her husband and his ministers, under the walls of Pelusium. While the armies were in fight of each other, Pompey, after his defeat at Pharsalia, was seen ap-

Ptolemy.
Cleopatra.
2966.

proaching the coast of Egypt, where he hoped to find an asylum. Having sent to his pupil Ptolemy to request permission to enter his kingdom, a debate took place in the council, whether he ought to be received at the risque of offending the conqueror; or whether it would be best to put him to death, in order to secure the friendship of Cæsar. The latter opinion prevailed, and Pompey was assassinated. This was a base crime, and an act of ingratitude in the successor of Auletes, who had been placed by Pompey on the throne. The high opinion, however, which might be entertained of Pompey's services is much lessened when we recollect from what mercenary motives they proceeded. Cæsar, who was in close pursuit of his rival, having arrived at the same time at Alexandria, Achilles imagined he should do him a pleasure by presenting to him the head of his enemy; but he turned aside his eyes with horror, and shed tears for his unfortunate fate.

Cæsar found the whole city of Alexandria filled with the utmost indignation, on account of the murder of Pompey, and little disposed in his favour; but by means of specious words, he was able to calm the people, without however forgetting his own interest; for he strictly demanded the remainder of the money still due to him by Auletes, since the time that he procured for him the title of an ally of the Roman people: Cæsar had brought with him the securities. Pothinus,

who wished this importunate creditor at a distance, embraced that opportunity of endeavouring to render him odious. He made the exaction appear still more rigorous than it really was, by carrying away from the temples the gold and silver contained in them, and reducing the king and all the nobility, to the necessity of using earthen, or wooden vessels, as if to insinuate that Cæsar had seized on every thing. When the people were once disposed to murmur, it was easy to prejudice them against Cæsar, on account of the order he sent to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, to come and plead their cause before him, and even to disband their troops. The Alexandrians were highly irritated, as they considered this order an insult to the royal authority; but Cæsar still appeased them by causing to be read publicly the will of Auletes, which gave the guardianship of his children to the republic. He said, that as dictator he was personally charged with this office; but that he would act in no other quality than that of arbiter. The ferment of their minds was allayed by this explanation, and advocates were appointed on both sides.

Cleopatra, who placed more confidence in her attractions than in the eloquence of the advocates she might choose, privately quitted her army, and embarking in a small boat, arrived about sun-set at the gates of Alexandria. The great difficulty was to enter the city without being known, as

she would have been stopped by her husband's troops, and to make her way afterwards to the palace. Apollodorus, who apparently was a very robust man, wrapped her up in a mattress in such a manner as to appear like a bale of goods; took her up on his shoulder, and having passed without detection, deposited her at the feet of the judge.

Her appearing in this manner before Cæsar was of more value, in his eyes, than a triumphant entry. Ptolemy, on being informed of it foresaw the consequences. He rushed from his palace as if frantic; cried out that he was betrayed and condemned; tore the diadem from his head, and trod it under his feet. The people flocked around him, lamenting his fate, and ran to take up arms; but the Roman soldiers seized and detained the young prince, and next morning Cæsar not only effected a reconciliation between him and his spouse, but married Ptolemy, the youngest of their sons, who was only eleven years of age, to Arsinoë his sister, who was a little older, and gave them the kingdom of Cyprus: a present intended only to deceive the people; for it was not to be supposed that the republic would resign its right to that island.

This good intelligence was not of long duration. Pothinus, who had occasioned the first discord, found means to renew it, in order that he might not be punished, and that he might enjoy,

in full liberty, the empire which he had always exercised over his pupil. He concerted with Achillas the proper measures for accomplishing what he had in view. The dictator found himself besieged in the quarter which he occupied with the royal family, and never was this general exposed to greater danger. He had few troops to oppose not only to a large army, but to a whole city, in a state of revolt. It was during one of the combats which took place on this occasion, that the celebrated library of Alexandria was burnt. Pothinus, who remained near the king, sent private intelligence to Achillas of the measures he was pursuing; but his treachery being discovered, he was put to death. Ganymedes, an eunuch of the palace, to whom young Arsinoe had been entrusted, and an accomplice of Pothinus, fearing the same fate, fled to the camp of Achillas, and carried with him his ward. The Egyptians were filled with great joy to think that they had in their army a branch of the royal family, whom they could place at their head. They proclaimed her queen, and appointed Ganymedes general, in the room of Achillas, whom he found means to put to death. This eunuch was, indeed, very fit to be prime-minister; for we are told by historians that he was a man of activity, address, and penetration, but of no probity.

He occasioned great embarrassment to Cæsar, who, together with his whole army, and the court,

were in danger of perishing by thirst, as he found means to introduce the water of the sea into the cisterns of the quarter where they were pent up, and thus to corrupt the water of the Nile, which alone could be procured at Alexandria. Cæsar, however, caused wells to be dug, from which he fortunately obtained a supply of fresh water. Ganymedes made several attacks, both by land and by sea; but after a great deal of bloodshed the contending parties had recourse to a conference, as is generally the case. The Alexandrians said, their only wish was to recover their king, whom the dictator consented to restore. He, therefore, released him, after giving him some good advice respecting the government of his kingdom, and exhorting him to put an end to the war, by a sincere reconciliation with his spouse. The young prince promised obedience, with tears in his eyes; but as soon as he found himself at liberty, he renewed the war with more fury than before.

Reinforcements having arrived to the Romans from all quarters, the dictator found himself in a condition to give battle, and gained a complete victory. The young king, during his flight, was drowned in an arm of the Nile. Cæsar entered Alexandria without difficulty; replaced Cleopatra on the throne, and made her marry her young brother, who was only eleven years of age. Young Arsinoë was taken after this defeat;

and Cæsar, the lover of her sister, was so cruel as to conduct her to Rome, and to lead her in triumph, having her hands bound with gold chains. He afterwards set her at liberty ; but with the prohibition of ever returning to Egypt. She retired to Asia, where she was not far from her cruel sister, who put her to death. Cleopatra got rid also of her young husband by poison ; and and she then found herself sole sovereign of Egypt. Love detained there the conqueror of Pharsalia much longer than his interest ought to have allowed ; but ambition at length made him break his chains : he tore himself from the arms of the enchantress, and left with her a son, called Cæsarion.

Cleopatra, after the death of Cæsar, openly espoused the party of the triumvirs. She was, however, suspected of having sent troops to Cassius ; and this offence, added to the complaints of her subjects, and of the neighbouring princes, made her be summoned to appear before the tribunal of Anthony, who had come to Asia to establish the power of the triumvirs. She had then attained to the twenty-fifth year of her age : a period of life as fit for business as for gallantry. The attractive charms which she had received from nature were accompanied with wit, artifice, sprightliness, and the graces. The surprize she prepared for Anthony had no resemblance to that which subdued Cæsar ; but though less abrupt, it was no less

victorious. The triumvir had established his tribunal at Tarsus, a city of Cilicia. When Cleopatra arrived at the mouth of the Cydnus, she quitted the vessel which had conveyed her thither, and proceeded up the river in a galley provided for the purpose. It was entirely covered with gilding; the sails were of purple, and the cordage consisted of silk. The oars were plated with silver, and the movements of the rowers were regulated by the sound of musical instruments. The air was filled with the fragrance of perfumes burnt in great abundance; and the deck was covered with a canopy of cloth of gold, elegantly displayed and arranged with the utmost taste. Below it appeared the queen in a posture half reclining, and surrounded by a great many comely youths fanning her like cupids, and beautiful virgins representing some nereids, and others the graces. Venus, whose attractions she called to remembrance, whose train she had borrowed, and whose attire she imitated, could not have appeared more beautiful in the midst of her triumphs.

When this spectacle was announced, the people abandoned the tribunal of the triumvir, and hastened towards the shore: Anthony sent to invite her to supper. "Tell him," replied she, with a flattering smile, "that I expect to see him in my tents." The repast was splendid: soldiers and officers, Romans and auxiliaries, were all praised and caressed, and loaded with presents, in that

winning manner which renders refusal impossible. The general, the object of the most delicate attention, was intoxicated with pleasure and admiration. It may be readily conceived, that no more idea was entertained of accusation or reproaches. Cleopatra assumed an absolute empire over the unfortunate Anthony. Every day she invented new pleasures, and like another Circe supplied him with large draughts of voluptuousness, of which she had an inexhaustible cup. Anthony, on his part, thought of nothing but in what manner he could gratify his lover.

After this period he saw only with her eyes, and conducted himself entirely by her counsels. As it was her desire, he placed with her on the throne of Egypt her son Cæsarion, whom she had born to Cæsar. To that kingdom he added Cyrenacia, the island of Cyprus, Cœlesyria, Phenicea, and the greater part of Cilicia. To three children whom he had by her, he assigned whole kingdoms, some already conquered, and others which he flattered himself with the hopes of subduing; but she could not prevail on him to put to death some of the kings of the states he had promised.

This distribution of empires was made after a triumph, in which Anthony dragged at his chariot, within the walls of Alexandria, Artabazus king of Media, together with his wife and children. He then presented them to Cleopatra, who was seated on a golden throne, raised above a scaffold

overlaid with silver. The news of this spectacle gave great offence to the Romans, who believed that the privilege of triumphs belonged exclusively to their city. Their discontent was fomented by Octavius, who being informed of the bad conduct of his colleague, aimed at nothing less than to appropriate to himself the empire of the world, which they possessed in common. They had disputes concerning the limits of their respective dominions ; but their friends interposed, and imagined that they should put an end to all discord by uniting in marriage Octavia, the sister of Octavius, with Anthony. This expedient, however, had a quite contrary effect, and embroiled them without the least hope of reconciliation. Cleopatra shuddered when she heard of this marriage, which was about to deprive her of a lover ; and she exerted her influence so much, that he first suspended the arrival of his spouse who was approaching, and then sent to Octavia a letter of divorce, and to her brother a declaration of war.

It would have been necessary to support these violent proceedings by a sudden attack. Octavius was unprepared, while Anthony had every thing in readiness ; and notwithstanding his foibles possessed the love of his soldiers, and the esteem of his friends ; but he wasted his valuable time in luxury and enjoyment. History has not disdained to make us acquainted with Cleopatra's great talent in varying amusements. A fishing party on the

Nile furnished her with an opportunity of employing a piece of severe raillery. Anthony made it a point of honour to catch the largest fish; and for that purpose had provided divers to affix them to his hook. The queen, who was equally ingenious, had divers also; and when Anthony drew up his line, he found at the end of it a beautiful salt fish. A general laugh disconcerted the fisher; and when Cleopatra found that he relished the joke pretty well, she threw her arms around his neck, and said: "Let us abandon our lines and tackle to the kings and queens of Phasus and Canopus. Your amusement ought to be to catch cities, kingdoms, and kings."

This prodigal and extravagant queen, in the course of one of those orgies no doubt when reason becomes lost, having at her ears two beautiful pearls, each valued at about fifty thousand pounds, pulled out one of them, which she dissolved in vinegar, and then swallowed. She was going to do the same with the other, but was stopped by one of the guests, who obtained the pearl, and when sawn in two, it was of sufficient beauty to serve as an ornament to a celebrated statue of Venus. We shall leave to chemists to examine what kind of vinegar it must have been to possess sufficient strength to soften so solid a concretion, without injuring the health of the person who swallowed it.

Such whimsical sacrifices were, no doubt, cal-

culated to captivate the credulous lover, and to persuade him that he was more esteemed than the most valuable jewels. But whether it was owing to insinuations conveyed to him by strangers, or to his own reflexions on the perfidious character of his mistress, Anthony began to shew some symptoms of suspicion. The queen instead of amusing him with protestations invited him to dinner ; and in a moment of playful gaiety, carelessly detached a flower from the garland with which she was crowned, and threw it into the cup of her guest. Anthony seized it with eagerness, and was going to apply it to his lips, but Cleopatra stopped him, and sent for a criminal who had been condemned to death. The criminal drank the cup, and instantly expired, as the flower had been poisoned. " Were it possible for me to live without you," said the queen, " you see that I could never want the means of realizing your suspicions."

Prudence advised Anthony to fly from so expert a poisoner ; but passion reasoned in a different manner. This proof of fidelity, which was extremely equivocal, drew still closer the bonds of their union. Anthony appeared as if incapable of enduring a moment's absence ; and Cleopatra, on her part, never quitted him day or night ; she accompanied him on all his journeys, to the army, and even to his tribunal when he sat to determine causes. Being both equally misled by their presumption, they indulged in the most extravagant

hopes. When this ambitious queen wished to add solemnity to any assertion, her usual oath was: "As I hope to give law in the capitol." A delusive dream, her awakening from which was terrible.

After several indecisive battles between the lieutenants of Anthony and Octavius, the two armies which were to decide the empire of the world, met under the command of their chiefs; the naval forces in the gulph of Ambracia, and the land forces drawn up on the promontory of Actium. Anthony was on board his fleet, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of his captains, he had suffered himself to be accompanied by the queen of Egypt, which proved his ruin. Cleopatra, who was still a prey to remorse, seeing victory ready to favour the enemy, and fearing to fall into the hands of Octavius, whom she had grievously offended by causing his sister to be repudiated, betook herself to flight with her whole squadron, and decided the defeat of Anthony. He might have joined his land army, and again tried his fortune with those who had more than once made him triumph; but through some fatal enchantment, he followed his perfidious lover. Seated in a melancholy attitude on the poop of his vessel, supporting his head with his two hands, and perhaps still more occupied with her than with his own misfortunes, he swore never to see her again. But he proceeded after her, and arrived along

with her in port. He endeavoured to confirm himself in the design he had formed of avoiding her; but the syren procured an interview, made him listen to her complaints, shed a few tears, and at last gained a complete victory over him.

They were obliged, however, to tear themselves from the enjoyment of reconciliation, in order to collect forces against the enemy, who was approaching. Anthony might have found troops had he only exerted himself. He was more beloved than Octavius; and it was with regret that the army withdrew from him that esteem which he had formerly enjoyed. Herod king of Judea came to offer him his services; and to see whether that soul, which in times of difficulty had displayed so much strength and magnanimity, was still susceptible of energy. But he found only languor and weakness, with an unfortunate passion to which Anthony referred all his views and actions. All those whose assistance Anthony solicited, his old friends and commanders, judged like Herod, and abandoned him to his fate. He then saw no other resource left but to return to Egypt, where the queen had at her command ships, foldiers, and treasures. "I will employ these," said he, "but I will neither see her nor speak to her." Was it at Alexandria, in the habitation of Cleopatra, that he could hope to obtain such a victory over himself? Anthony took up his lodging without the city in an agreeable country seat, which he

had caused to be built on the sea shore. Messages passed between him and Cleopatra; but their common interest made it afterwards necessary for them to have several interviews. The object of them was to deliberate on treating with Octavianus, who was then advancing against them. After various proposals which were rejected, Anthony confined himself to a request that the conqueror would suffer him to live at Athens, as a plain individual, along with the queen; and that he would ensure to the children whom he had by her, the thrones which he destined for them. Octavianus gave only equivocal answers, as his object was to get the lovers into his power. While he advanced he still continued to negotiate, without neglecting the means of force or surprize; and Anthony, amused by his hopes, was in great danger of falling into the snares laid for him. Like an enraged animal pursued to its last retreat, he then threw himself with fury on those who wished to surround him, repulsed them, and occasioned dreadful slaughter. This was the term of his resistance. Besides the negotiation carried on in common, Cleopatra entered into a private one with Octavianus, who insinuated that she ought to abandon Anthony, and perhaps to give him up. On this condition he promised her every advantage she could desire. In the mean time he demanded sometimes one city and sometimes another, and at last the most important places of Egypt; while the

queen, deceived or seduced, delivered them into his hands. Incensed at this treachery, which he thought he had no longer any reason to doubt, Anthony wished to sacrifice his perfidious lover; but she retired to a monument of great height which she had built, where she shut herself up with two female attendants and a slave. She then sent to inform her lover that she had put herself to death. On hearing this intelligence, his violent transport of anger was converted into the deepest grief. Unable to endure the idea of existing without the object of his affection, he sent for a slave on whose fidelity he could depend, and putting into his hands a poniard, said: "You behold me for the last time:—strike." But the slave plunged the poniard into his own body, and expired at his feet. Anthony took the poniard in his turn, and having given himself a large wound, fell down bathed in blood. His friends hastened to his relief; but he conjured them to dispatch him. They were filled with horror and pity, and left him in the agonies of death near the body of his slave.

Cleopatra having heard of his desperate state, and that he was not yet dead, sent her slave to inform him that she was still in life, and wished to see him. On this invitation the dying lover seemed to revive; and suffering his wound to be dressed, ordered himself to be conveyed to the monument. As Cleopatra durst not open the door for fear of being surprized by the emissaries of Octavianus, she

let down ropes, to which Anthony being made fast, was in that manner drawn up to a window by the queen and her two female attendants. He stretched out his trembling hands to the queen, and she drew him into her apartment. The lamentation and mournful cries which were afterwards heard informed the Alexandrians, who arrived in crowds to behold this spectacle, that the unfortunate Anthony had survived a very short time the pleasure of seeing once more the object of his affection.

The queen obstinately persisted in her resolution of remaining in the monument, to which she had caused combustible matter, spices, and precious wood, to be conveyed, in order to consume herself in it if any violence should be attempted. She wished to procure the crown for her children, and dreaded more than death the idea of being attached to the car of Octavianus, and dragged in triumph to Rome. To obtain the one, and avoid the other, she considered it necessary to remain mistress of her asylum. She suffered no person to enter it, and conversed with the messengers sent by Octavianus only through the door; but while one of the negotiators was engaging her attention with proposals, another got in at the window through which Anthony had been drawn up. Finding herself surprized, she snatched a poniard from her girdle, and attempted to stab herself; but the weapon was taken from her, and proper precau-

tions were employed to prevent the effects of her despair.

She then requested permission to see Octavianus. It is asserted, that her object was to inspire him with love; and indeed nothing of this kind, on the part of Cleopatra, ought to excite surprize. When he appeared she threw herself at his feet, in a dishabille concerted on purpose; but he raised her up, and said coolly—"Do not despair, you shall suffer no hurt." While she conversed with him he never turned his eyes towards her, but kept them continually rivetted on the floor. So much prudence, so much fear or contempt of her charms, made her fully sensible of what she had to dread; and she prepared with firmness to avoid the shameful fate which awaited her.

Having prepared a magnificent repast, she invited her friends to partake of it, and did the honours of the table with her usual elegance and cheerfulness. She then wrote a note to Octavianus, dispatched it by one of her guards, whose presence she found most embarrassing, desiring him to deliver it speedily, and shut herself up in her apartment with her two female companions. She had caused to be brought to her a particular kind of serpent, peculiar to Egypt, concealed in a basket under figs, by which means it escaped the vigilance of her guards. She knew that the bite of this animal introduced into the veins a strong poison, which occasioned a lethargic sleep, and brought

on speedy death without any pain. The queen threw herself on her bed, applied the animal to her arm, and caused it to inflict a mortal wound. Octavianus, alarmed by the note he had received, ordered the door to be opened, and found her covered with a rich dress, and ornamented as if for a day of festivity. One of her women was lying dead at her feet by the effects of the same poison, and the other was expiring. The horrors of death were so little imprinted on the countenance of Cleopatra, that Octavianus at first imagined she was only asleep; but the efforts he made to recal her to life were fruitless. He ordered her to be buried with royal honours, and to be deposited in the same tomb with Anthony, as the two lovers had desired. With her was buried the glory of Egypt, which became a Roman province, and which we shall hereafter see still more degraded under the Turks.

ARMENIA.

The countries situated between Arabia Deserta, the Pontus Euxinus, Asiatic Tartary, India, and Persia, were little known before Alexander, and would have remained so after his conquests, had not several of the monarchs of these petty kingdoms been engaged with the Romans in wars, by which they were rendered celebrated.

The two Armenias, between Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Iberia, Albania, Medi., and Syria.

Armenia the Greater is separated from the Less by Mount Caucasus. Both of them are covered

Face of the country. Manners.

with mountains, in which the Tigris, the Euphrates, and other large rivers, have their sources. The woods and marshes which abound in this country render it exceedingly cold. The inhabitants are not astonished to see the snow suddenly cover the fields during the hottest months of the year. This temperature hurts fertility. The ancient inhabitants are supposed to have been the descendants of Japhet. It is certain that they were among the oldest in the world, if Noah's ark rested, as is said, upon one of their mountains. Human sacrifices, and religious prostitution, were found among them. Their manners were savage and wild. Those of the modern Armenians have been softened by commerce, in which they display singular ability. They are the factors of the whole East. They employ the Syriac characters, and speak two languages, that of the people, and that of the learned. The latter, it is said, has no analogy with any of the oriental languages; it is remarkable for its peculiar energy, and the terms of art and science which it contains. It is that employed in their sacred worship. A man who has attained to a knowledge of it is considered by these people as a wonderful character; and those must be acquainted with it who are admitted among the verbiets or priests, for whom the Armenians have the most profound veneration. The government has always been monarchical; and it is so fit for the country, that when the kings failed either by

death, expulsion, or other causes, there were always found men who raised these overturned thrones on which they placed themselves, and maintained their authority.

The successors of Alexander entrusted Armenia ²⁸³⁴ to two governors, Zadriades and Artaxias, who exercised that office under Antiochus the Great, united their power, raised in concert the standard of revolt, and established themselves as kings in their respective governments. They maintained the war with success, and added to their states many of the neighbouring provinces, by which means they acquired a considerable kingdom. Having then divided the whole, one part fell to Artaxias, under the name of Armenia the Greater; and the other to Zadriades, under that of Armenia the Less. Antiochus did not suffer them to conquer and partition these countries in peace, but he was obliged to give way to their united strength, and to acknowledge them kings by a treaty. In order that they might leave him no temptation for interrupting their tranquillity, they took care to strengthen themselves by an alliance with the Romans.

These allies were often troublesome. Tigranes, ^{T granes, 2914.} who has been surnamed the Great—great indeed in prosperity, but little in adversity—conceived when he ascended the throne, the bold project of forming a confederation to set bounds to the ambition of these dangerous republicans. He found in

Mithridates, king of Pontus, a prince very much disposed to second his efforts. Cappadocia, to which Mithridates laid claim, having been adjudged to Ariobarzanes by a decree of the senate, gave rise to a war, the conditions of which were so regulated by the kings of Pontus and Armenia, that the former was to have the conquered countries, and the latter the spoils and the slaves. This engagement was sealed by the hand of the daughter of Mithridates, which was given to Tigranes. Their success was purchased at a cheap rate. Ariobarzanes fled to Rome, and abandoned his states. One of the sons of Mithridates was established in his room, and Tigranes for his share acquired immense booty.

We have seen, that during the state of anarchy by which the expiring kingdom of Syria was laid waste, Tigranes was invited by the people to receive the sceptre. He wielded it for eighteen years with glory, and in the course of that period, augmented the kingdom of Armenia with parts dismembered from Syria. But Mithridates lost Cappadocia, which was taken from him by the Romans, and restored to Ariobarzanes. It was, however, recovered by Tigranes, who gave it to his father-in-law. Tigranes then conducted his victorious troops against the Greeks of Asia, from whom he took immense riches, and three hundred thousand prisoners, whom he employed in building Tigranocerta, which he made his capital.

Mithridates, still intent on exciting enemies against the Romans, sent an embassy to his son-in-law, the object of which was, not to carry on an indirect war against them as before by harassing their allies, but to attack them openly. At the head of this embassy he had placed Metrodorus his counsellor, who was rather his friend than his subject, and in whom he reposed the utmost confidence. Tigranes, before he determined on taking up arms, wished to have a private conference, in which he begged to know his opinion respecting the war. Metrodorus yielded to his entreaty, and said: "As chief of the embassy, I ought to advise
"you to embrace the party of Mithridates against
"the Romans; but as an individual I think you
"cannot act more prudently, than to retain the
"friendship of so powerful and formidable a
"people." Tigranes was highly pleased with the sincerity of the ambassador; and believing that Mithridates, if informed of it, would esteem him the more, made him acquainted with the conversation; but Metrodorus died suddenly as he was returning. It has been suspected that he was poisoned; and in that case the two following conclusions may be drawn: first, that no man ought to be charged with a negotiation, unless he is fully convinced of the propriety of the measure which is the object of his mission; and the second, that it is dangerous to believe that what we think ad-

vantageous for ourselves will be viewed in the same light by others.

Tigranes took advantage of this advice, and would not engage in the war, at least openly; but on the solicitation of his spouse, he suffered some of his troops to enter into the service of his father-in-law. The king of Pontus was beat, and forced to seek shelter with his son-in-law, who did not refuse him an asylum, nor any of those comforts which can be procured to an unfortunate refugee; but he refused to see him, and set out to make conquests. He subdued Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, and the maritime countries of Asia, as far as Egypt. Whether these victories gave uneasiness to the Romans, or rather that the treasures of Armenia, swelled by the riches of so many opulent countries, excited the avarice of Lucullus, that Roman general, who had invaded the kingdom of Pontus, thought proper to quarrel with the king of Armenia on account of the asylum he had granted to Mithridates, and to demand that the latter should be given up to him. This insulting demand, however, made Tigranes and his son-in-law unite more closely.

They devised a plan of attack and defense; but their measures were disconcerted by the rapidity of Lucullus, who fell on Armenia like a thunderbolt. After that moment Tigranes was no longer the same great general who had subdued empires. He was seen not only retiring before

the Romans, but often setting his foldiers the example of flight. He was beat, and loft battles: his towns, and even his capital, were taken; and his treasures were plundered. Though he had still at his difposal immense armies, throwing afide his royal mantle, and tearing off and concealing his diadem, he fled before a body of troops fo inconfiderable, that he one day made their audacity a fubject of pleafantry. Comparing his own two hundred thoufand men with the eleven thoufand of the Roman general, when he faw them boldly advancing towards him, he faid: "If they are ambaffadors, they are too numerous; and if they come to attack us, they are too few."

Terror had fo completely got poffeffion of Tigranes, and had fufpended all the faculties of his mind in fuch a manner, that he never thought of turning to advantage the difcontent which prevailed among the troops of Lucullus, who perceived that their general paid attention only to his own private advantage, and that they were nothing but the inftruments of his avarice. One day, after a great many expeditions, attended with no benefit to his foldiers, having ordered them to march to a new conquest, they made no answer, but fhewed him their empty purfes. He, however, found means to appeafe them; and proceeded, not to new victories, but to new treasures, as he had learned that Pompey was coming to fucceed him. When thefe two generals met, Lucullus reproached

Pompey on account of his ambition; and Pompey, Lucullus on account of his avarice; and both of them, say the historians, were right.

It is agreed that, considering the weak state in which Tigranes found himself, reduced almost to a few cities, nothing remained for Pompey, but exploits ill suited to the dignity of so great a general. The facility of his expedition was still increased, by a misfortune which happened to the king of Armenia. One of his sons, of the same name as himself, revolted so openly, that he assisted Pompey with troops against his father. This gave a mortal blow to the unfortunate Tigranes; and made him form a resolution of delivering himself into the hands of Pompey, and of trusting to his generosity.

It was a flattering spectacle for the Romans to see this king of Armenia, who had caused himself to be served by kings, and who, when he gave audience, had on each side of his throne two monarchs, to whom the most abject posture was prescribed, arrive in their camp without guards. Two lictors, to whom he delivered his sword, obliged him to dismount, under a pretence that no person was allowed to enter it on horseback. Pompey came to meet him on foot; and as soon as Tigranes perceived him, he tore off his diadem, and threw himself prostrate at his feet. Pompey, who was affected and moved by pity, received him in his arms, and replaced the crown on his head.

His son being present at this interview, Pompey, with a design of attempting a reconciliation, invited him with his father to supper; but the son, still maintaining the ferocity of his character, did not go. This indecent conduct disposed Pompey in favour of the father. Next day having heard both of them plead before his tribunal, he restored Armenia and Mesopotamia to Tigranes, on condition of his paying a stipulated sum for the expenses of the war. In regard to the son, he obtained only two inconsiderable provinces, after they had been stripped of the riches accumulated in them. The conqueror destined them for discharging part of the sum which the king was obliged to pay.

This adjudication displeased the prince, who was so ill rewarded for his rebellion. From the camp, in which he was kept in a state of confinement, he sent confidential persons to induce the provinces which had fallen to his share, not to suffer their treasures to be carried away. Pompey caused him to be loaded with chains, and in this state he still formed cabals, and privately excited against the Romans the king of the Parthians, whose daughter he had married. It was even known that he had formed a conspiracy against the life of his father. The Roman general, fired with just indignation on account of these acts of perfidy, sent him to Rome as a common prisoner. Tigranes during his whole life remained faithful to the Ro-

mans. His attachment was not merely political: it appears to have been sincere. He carried it so far as to refuse an asylum to Mithridates, when defeated by Pompey; and he even offered a reward to those who should bring him his head. Did this proceed from a desire of obliging the Romans, or of being revenged for the misfortunes into which he had been plunged by his father-in-law? He died, after a long and a happy reign, at the age of eighty-five.

Artuafdes,
2962.

The reign of Artuafdes, his son, was exceedingly short. A war broke out between him and Artavafdes, the king of Media, and he succeeded in making the triumvir, Mark Antony, take a share in it; but the two kings concluded a peace. That of Armenia did not inform the Roman general, his ally, of this circumstance; on the contrary, he induced him to attack Media, and offered to serve him as a guide to enable him to penetrate into the kingdom. This treachery, according to every appearance, had been concerted between the two monarchs as a condition of their accommodation. Artuafdes, with a numerous escort, put himself in the quality of guide at the head of Anthony's advanced guard, consisting of twenty thousand men, commanded by his lieutenant-general, and conducted him through countries so horrid, that he was obliged to leave the baggage and warlike machines by the way. When the advanced guard,

harassed and destitute of every necessary, arrived in Media, it was attacked by the Medes and Parthians, who made a great slaughter. Anthony hurried to the assistance of his soldiers; collected such of the fugitives as he was able; escaped himself with difficulty from the conquerors, and carried back his army to Armenia after a disastrous march.

Artuafdes came to meet him, with an army in the best order possible. As this was not the moment for shewing symptoms of resentment, Anthony dissembled, and behaved to him with great friendship. By means of caresses and promises he obtained winter quarters in Armenia; and when his troops were well established he returned to Egypt, from which he wrote to Artuafdes, begging him to come to him that they might concert the plan of operations for the next campaign. The latter entertaining a just diffidence, which unfortunately he did not carry far enough, replied that he could not leave his kingdom, being necessarily detained there by affairs of importance. Anthony, however, was not discouraged; he proposed a marriage between Alexander, his son by Cleopatra, and the daughter of the king of Armenia. After a good deal of negotiation, Anthony rejoined his army, and renewed his request that Artuafdes would come and assist him with his counsels. Artuafdes at length yielded, and having repaired to the camp, was immediately arrested, and ob-

liged, in order to avoid more severe treatment, to point out the place where his treasures were concealed. The Roman general seized on the riches; and dragged the unfortunate monarch, together with his wife and children, loaded with chains, to the feet of Cleopatra at Alexandria. He had ordered them to call her the queen of kings; but neither Artuafdes, nor any of the prisoners of his nation, would salute her by that title. Anthony gave the crown of Armenia to his son Alexander; and beheaded Artuafdes, who was thus justly punished for his perfidy: an example which ought to be held up to such persons as trust to those whom they have cruelly deceived.

2567.

The kings of Armenia became so insignificant before the Roman generals, who governed the East, that they might have been considered as the mere phantoms of royalty. The emperors sported with their sceptre. Augustus caused Tigranes to be succeeded by his nephew Artuafdes; but the Armenians expelled him, because he was the choice of the Romans, whom they detested. He was restored by Caius, the adopted son of Augustus, who being obliged to abandon him gave Armenia to Ariobarzanes, at the desire of the people. The country was afterwards subdued by the Parthians. Tiberius, in opposition to them, supported Mithridates Iberus, brother to Pharasmenes the king of Iberia. Caligula overturned the throne of Mithridates, and had him brought to Rome in chains.

Claudius set him at liberty, and gave him troops to expel the Parthians, who had made themselves masters of his kingdom. In this enterprize he was powerfully supported by his brother Pharasmenes; but he made him pay exceedingly dear for his services.

Pharasmenes had a son, a most promising young prince, possessed of great valour and courage. To these brilliant qualities he united an ambition, the effects of which were much dreaded by his father. As characters of this kind have need of some object to fix their attention, Pharasmenes directed the ambition of his son towards Armenia: "That kingdom," said he, "which I conquered from the Parthians, I was wrong in conferring on my brother Mithridates: it is to you, my son, that it ought to belong." Pharasmenes and Rhadamistus having concerted in what manner they could best accomplish their object, gave out that a kind of division had taken place between them. The son made complaints against his father, and the artifices of a mother-in-law, by whom he was harassed, and requested an asylum from his uncle that he might live in tranquillity. The credulous Mithridates received this serpent, and fostered him in his bosom. Rhadamistus employed his leisure time in fomenting the discontent of some of the nobility, and in exciting them to rebellion. When every thing was arranged, he pretended that his

father had become reconciled to him, and returned home.

Under one of those pretences which are never wanting on such occasions, Pharasmenes entered Armenia, and, at the same time, the revolt broke out. Mithridates, in great distress, and imagining that he beheld none but traitors around him, shut himself up in a fortress, under the protection of a Roman garrison. Rhadamistus laid siege to the place; and the uncle was obliged to come to a conference with his nephew without the walls. Rhadamistus swore by all the gods that he had nothing to fear, either from the sword, or from poison. As there was a sacred grove near the place of interview, the nephew enticed his uncle thither, that he might confirm his oath by the ceremonies usual in Armenia, which consisted in tying together the thumbs of the contracting parties, pricking them, and causing them to suck each other's blood. At the moment when Mithridates presented his hand to be tied, he was thrown down, and bound with the rope which was to have been employed in this religious rite. His family, who were present, were treated in the same manner. Pharasmenes being informed of the success of this treachery, repaired to his brother, reproached him for having prevented the Romans from assisting him in a war against the Albanians, and, as a punishment for this pretended crime, condemned

him to death. Rhadamistus undertook to see this cruel sentence carried into execution; but as he had guarantied his uncle, upon oath, from the sword and from poison, he caused him to be suffocated before his eyes. The wife of Mithridates, the daughter of Pharasmenes, and consequently the sister of Rhadamistus, with several of her children, were subjected to a like fate.

This act of barbarity did not remain unpunished. Rhadamistus. Zenob. Vologeses, king of the Parthians, who pretended to some right over Armenia, having heard of the tragical death of Mithridates, and the troubles which were the consequence of it, thought the moment favourable for asserting his claim. He gave the kingdom of Armenia to his brother Tiridates, and supported his present with an army, which he commanded in person. Rhadamistus badly defended his usurpation; and, being driven by the king of the Parthians as far as Illyria, took shelter with his father. Some misfortunes which befel the army of Vologeses, in consequence of the inclemency of the climate, obliged him to abandon Armenia. Rhadamistus then returned; and being incensed against the Armenians on account of their having abandoned him, governed with so much severity that a secret conspiracy was formed against him, and he was surpris'd in his palace. His guards were disarm'd before he knew any thing of the plot; and he had only time to mount his horse and make his escape.

His queen Zenobia, though some months pregnant, was unwilling to desert him; but as her condition prevented her from proceeding with the same speed, and being apprehensive that she might fall into the hands of her revolted subjects, she begged Rhadamistus to put her to death. The barbarian, moved with a momentary compassion, endeavoured to revive the courage of the fugitive; but observing that she wanted strength, and being afraid to leave her in the possession of any other, he wounded her with his sword. As she immediately fell, he dragged her to a neighbouring river, and abandoned her to her fate. Some shepherds who saw her floating on the water, where she was supported by her clothse, drew her to the bank, and as she was not dead, they dressed her wound. Tiridates sent for her to his court, where she was received with the greatest honours; and she, no doubt, had very little desire of returning to her husband, who is not farther mentioned in history.

The wars which followed present an almost inexplicable chaos of military expeditions and intrigues. In these the Romans acted the principal part; sometimes as the aggressors, and sometimes as auxiliaries: Romans sometimes against Romans, like those carnivorous animals who dispute with each other for their prey. The unfortunate Armenians, harassed, plundered, and oppressed by avaricious protectors, and by neighbours no less

eager after booty, demanded a master from the emperors. Nero gave them Alexander, the grandson of Herod king of Judea ; but Tiridates, being still supported by Vologeses, did not abandon his pretensions. He maintained himself with dignity against Corbulo when conqueror, and treated with respect Pætus though conquered. By this noble conduct he acquired the esteem of the Romans. Nero abandoned Alexander, who was only the phantom of a king, and wished to place with his own hands the crown on the head of Tiridates. This ceremony took place at Rome, with the greatest magnificence. Tiridates rendered Armenia happy. His successors were rather vassals of the empire than independent kings. Armenia, however, remained a kingdom, until Trajan united it to Mesopotamia, and converted it into a Roman province. During the decline of the empire it was governed by kings, dependent on Constantine and his successors. The Armenians were subdued by the Saracens, then by the Turks, and afterwards by the Tartars. Under all these governments, traces of royalty were still seen in Armenia. Some were even seen under the Persians, who occasioned a dreadful depopulation of the country by transporting a great number of Armenians to Zulpha, the suburbs of Isfahan their capital. They have divided the kingdom with the Turks, who call their part Turcomania ; but even till our days,

kings or princes have appeared in Armenia to molest the invading despots.

In regard to Armenia the Less, the most fertile and agreeable of the two, which abounds with fruit, oil, and wines highly esteemed, it has never been long separated from the greater. After having three kings, the successors of Zadriades, it found itself involved in the misfortunes of Armenia the Greater; abandoned, like it, to the depredations of neighbouring kings, or of the Romans, who disputed for it with each other. Pompey, when at the height of his power, gave it to Dejotarus king of Galatia. The grateful acknowledgement which the monarch owed to that general, induced him to espouse his party in the war against Cæsar. The latter pardoned him at the request of Brutus; and when this Roman had put to death the dictator, Dejotarus sent troops to his murderers. The triumvirs made him pay by a large fine and the loss of some provinces, for his attachment to the unsuccessful party. He maintained himself, however, with dignity amidst the contending factions, being the intimate friend of Cicero, and yet respected by Octavianus. Dejotarus attained to a great age. His family became extinct in his son, by whom he was succeeded. The crown, both of Armenia and Galatia, came to the children of the sister of the latter; then to a king of Media; afterwards to a king of Pontus, to

princes of Cappadocia and Bosphorus, to Aristobulus the grand-son of Herod the Great, to Tigranes, and under Vespasian the country became a Roman province. It was attached to the empire of the east, and afterwards to that of the Persians. It was taken from the latter by the Turks, who still possess it under the name of Genech.

PONTUS.

Pontus contains several places celebrated in history, both ancient and modern. Amasia, built on the Iris, admits the largest vessels to approach close to the walls. It was formerly the residence appointed for the eldest son of the grand-seignior. Sebastia suspended the conquests of Tamerlane; but it was punished for its resistance by the death of twelve thousand of its inhabitants, whom the barbarian caused to be buried alive. The Thermodon has seen its shores inhabited by the Amazons, who invented the battle-ax. The city of Cerasus sent us the first cherries. The tree that bears them grows naturally in the forests, from which it was transplanted. The honey of Pontus deranges the brain of those who are in good health, and restores insane persons to reason. This remark is made by Aristotle. Xenophon, the Grecian general, who commanded the ten thousand, experienced by the illness of his soldiers that the use of this honey was dangerous. It threw them into a kind of intoxication, or phrenzy. They

Pontus, between the Pontus Euxinus, Armenia the Less, Colchis, and the river Halys.

were, however, cured, and recovered their senses. In the last place, Trebifond, which is still a commercial and opulent city, was the residence of the emperors of the house of Comnenus. The air of this country is excellent. As the inhabitants had a great deal of sea-coast, the principal object of their adoration was Neptune. They sent him every year four white horses, which they caused to be drowned in the sea.

Kings.

The series of the kings of Pontus begins at Artabazus, a Persian, who is supposed to have been placed on the throne by Darius, the son of Hytaspes. After him reigned nine princes, almost all of his family, named Mithridates, or Pharnaces, who were engaged in war, sometimes as conquerors, and sometimes conquered, till Mithridates VI. who was assassinated by his favourites. He had been a very affectionate ally of the Romans. Neither offers nor promises could induce him to abandon the cause of the republic, at a time when all the princes of Asia had declared against it. The senate, out of gratitude, gave him Phrygia the Greater; but it afterwards took that country from his son Mithridates VII. whom he left a minor. This was the great Mithridates, the implacable enemy of the Romans, who carried on war against them during forty-six years, and occasioned more loss to the republic than Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and all the kings of Syria and Macedonia together.

By his conduct when a young man, it was easy ^{Mithridates,} to conjecture what he would become at a future ^{2900.} period. Having been placed under the guardianship of his mother, who kept him in a state of great restraint, he afterwards occasioned her death by confining her in prison. His governors, apprehending his cruel character, made him one day mount a horse so intractable that it was thought impossible to break him; but he managed the animal with so much address that he soon tamed him. Mithridates spent whole months in hunting, in order to harden his constitution; slept at night on the bare ground, and often amidst the snow. It is said that he accustomed himself to poisons in such a manner, that the most violent kinds made no impression on him. This fact will scarcely be credited by those acquainted with the structure of the human body, and the delicacy of its fibres and membranes. One might rather believe that he prevented the activity of poisons by some antidote taken before he swallowed them. He used, as is supposed, that famous remedy called from his name Mithridate, of which he is said to have been the inventor.

Mithridates, according to the eastern custom, espoused his sister Laodice, and left her, some time after his marriage, to traverse the different states of the continent of Asia, which he visited, attended by a small retinue, in order to observe the customs of the inhabitants, and to study their

laws. He learned, at the same time, twenty-two languages, and acquired an accurate idea of their forces. This tour lasted three years. A report being in the mean time propagated that he was dead, Laodice, who had conceived a passion for one of the noblemen of her court, readily suffered herself to be persuaded that her husband was no longer in existence. She brought forth a son during his absence; and the best means she could find to conceal her fault, or secure impunity, were to present to Mithridates a poisoned draught. It however produced no effect; and the king being certain of her double perfidy, put her to death with all the accomplices of her infamy.

Soon after, he began to put in execution his grand projects. He invaded Paphlagonia, which he divided with Nicomedes, king of Bythia, his ally and neighbour. The Romans being offended that he should seize on a country subject to their dominion, he replied to their ambassadors, that Paphlagonia belonged to him by the right of inheritance: "Besides," added he, "I do not see why the republic should interfere in the quarrels which take place between the princes of Asia." They threatened him with a war; but instead of returning an answer, he took possession of Galatia, which was also under their protection. He then turned his views to Cappadocia, the sovereign of which, named Ariarthes, was his brother-in-law, and considered as his intimate friend,

But is there any thing sacred to the ambitious? Mithridates caused him to be assassinated by a worthless wretch named Gordius. Nicomedes, king of Bythinia, thinking to profit by this crime, entered Cappadocia, expelled from the throne the son of the deceased king, and, having taken possession of it, married the widow.

Mithridates, the murderer of his friend, treated this action as a horrible crime. He took up arms in favour of the orphan, whose father had been privately put to death by his orders, and replaced his nephew on the throne. It was only with reluctance, and to save appearances, that he performed this act of justice. Cappadocia was always the object of his ambition; but his designs were interrupted by the absence of Gordius, who had been banished on account of his crime. The king of Pontus exhorted his nephew to recal the assassin of his father. As the young man seemed unwilling to comply with this proposal, Mithridates collected an army of ninety thousand men; but he found the king of Cappadocia on his guard, and equally strong as himself. As the fate of a battle was uncertain, Mithridates employed a much surer and more expeditious method to accomplish his end. He requested to have a conference with his nephew between the two armies. The prince repaired to the appointed place, without any suspicion, and the uncle stabbed him with a poniard which he had concealed between the folds of his

robe. This horrid action spread so much terror among the Cappadocians that they threw down their arms, and the king of Pontus found no difficulty to get possession of the kingdom. He gave the sovereignty of it to one of his sons, who was very young, under the tutorship of the infamous Gordius. He seized also on the throne of Bythina, which had been left vacant by the death of Nicomedes.

The Romans having begun to be uneasy respecting the aggrandizement of the king of Pontus, their generals, after concerting together, invested his kingdom; but he broke their line, and throwing into disorder those by whom he was furrounded, spread himself like a torrent in the countries occupied by the Romans, and compelled them to evacuate Phrygia, Moesia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphilia, Paphlagonia, and Bythina. Wherever he went he was styled by the people, who seemed much pleased with the change, their father and deliverer; a divinity, the sole monarch of Asia. He caused the proconsul Oppius to be brought to him loaded with irons, and preceded in that state by his lictors, in order to ridicule the Roman pride. Aquilius, another Roman commander, against whom he thought he had cause of complaint, as having excited Cappadocia to revolt, was subjected to a punishment, in which cruelty was added to derision. He caused him to be led about, mounted on an ass, or tied by the foot to a public male-

factor. In this state he was forced to cry out: "I am Manius Aquilius." When he arrived at Pergamus, he ordered him to be scourged, and then put to the rack. At last, melted gold was poured into his mouth, to reproach him, as well as the other Roman generals, for their insatiable avarice, which swallowed up all the riches of Asia.

This was a prelude to the fate which Mithridates destined for all the Romans. He thought that none of the states which he had conquered could be in safety, as long as one of them remained in the country. He considered them as so many spies sent by the republic to watch his motions, and his treatment of them was such as suited that character. He sent secret orders to all the governors and magistrates of the cities of Asia Minor, to cause to be massacred on a certain day, which he mentioned, all the Romans, with their wives, children, and domestics. He forbade them to be buried: and all their property was to be divided into two parts, one for the king, and the other for the assassins. Mithridates promised liberty to slaves who should murder their masters, and to all debtors who should kill their creditors the remission of one half the sum they owed. At the same time, he declared that whoever concealed the proscribed, under any pretence whatever, should be immediately punished with death.

When the day of horror and trouble arrived,

the gates of the cities were shut, soldiers were posted at all the passages, and the orders of the king being published, the greatest consternation was spread, not only among the Romans, but among such of the inhabitants as retained any sentiments of humanity. As the Romans, however, by their pride and avarice had brought upon themselves the hatred of the Asiatics, and as the desire of vengeance was strengthened by the hope of gain, the king's orders were punctually executed; and Asia, in one day, became the bloody theatre of the most dreadful carnage. Among the instances of cruelty which excite horror, we can mention none more barbarous than that of some Caunians, to whom the Romans, a little before, had done various acts of kindness. They were so inhuman as to torture children in the presence of their mothers. Some of them died through excess of pain, and others lost the use of their senses. All historians almost make the number of the Romans, who were massacred that day, to amount to a hundred and fifty thousand men; and the most moderate to eighty thousand. Those who execute such plans are, no doubt, detestable; but what are we to think of the monsters by whom they are devised, and who calmly calculate their effects? Unfortunate is that nation which produces them.

This massacre gave rise to a multitude of others. The reprisals were terrible. They proceeded from

Fimbria and Sylla: Sylla, who never knew pity, and Fimbria, an adversary worthy of Mithridates by his talents and cruelty. Being the foreign agent of the enemies of Sylla, who were in Rome, he attacked the king of Pontus, gained a battle, and obliged him to fly. He was even very near taking him prisoner. Mithridates retired to a city, where he was besieged by the conqueror; but the latter was not able to invest the place by sea for want of ships. He wrote, therefore, to the general who commanded the Roman fleet; but as he belonged to the party of Sylla, he was unwilling to contribute to the triumph of the opposite party. Mithridates took advantage of this misunderstanding, and made his escape. His generals were successful in several places; but they experienced also severe defeats. All these events were accompanied with horrid massacres: the inhabitants of towns, and whole armies slaughtered; provinces laid waste with fire; nations expelled from their native land, wandering and dispersed victims to the vengeance of a haughty republic, and the fury of a monarch obstinately bent on suffering none of the Romans to remain around him. It was, however, agreed that some relaxation should be given to the unfortunate people.

Mithridates, who had been the greatest sufferer, ^{Peace,} because he lost his fleet, commanded by Arche- ^{2914.}laus, and a hundred and ten thousand men, commanded by Taxiles, made overtures of peace to

Sylla. The Roman consented to treat, and the negotiators agreed on the terms ; but before they were ratified, the king of Pontus requested an interview with the general. When they met, the monarch advanced to embrace Sylla, but the haughty Roman stepped back, and asked him whether he accepted all the conditions. The monarch replied that he accepted them, with some explanation. Sylla naturally had a fierce look, and when he heard the word explanation, symptoms of the most violent anger were displayed in his countenance. Mithridates was frightened, and agreed to every thing required. Sylla then approached, and suffered himself to be embraced. From the scene of peace, which was more honourable to him than the field of victory, Sylla hastened to attack Fimbria, who was abandoned by his soldiers. In this extremity, belying his usual generosity, he attempted to get his enemy put to death ; but the assassin being disconcerted, at the moment when about to strike the fatal blow, was arrested. Notwithstanding this treachery, Sylla made proposals ; and Fimbria seeing no alternative but that of yielding, or hazarding a battle, said : “ I know a much more simple method of sparing human blood ; ” and immediately ran himself through with his sword, and expired.

The imperious conditions prescribed to Mithridates were not of such a nature as to be faithfully observed by that prince. He lost whole provinces ;

sacrificed a great part of his navy; and condescended to see himself surrounded by Romans, those enemies whom he had so cruelly offended; who had avenged themselves in so haughty a manner, and from whom he could expect nothing but the same hatred as that which he had sworn to them in the bottom of his heart. This peace, therefore, was merely a truce, in order to take breath, and recommence the war with more vigour. The king of Pontus first attacked the people of Colchis, who had declared against him. They submitted, and requested his son for their king. Mithridates complied with their desire; but he discovered that when they took up arms against him, it was at the instigation of the same son who entertained hopes of profiting by their revolt. Though this prince had been of great service to him in the last war, he caused him to be bound with gold chains, and condemned him to death.

By the great preparations which Mithridates made, both by land and by sea, it was easy for the Romans to perceive that he would not long suffer them to enjoy in peace the spoils which they had wrested from him. They were even informed of his plans by Archelaus, his ancient admiral, whom the monarch blamed for the humiliating terms of the treaty of peace, to which he had been obliged to submit. Archelaus, knowing the severity of Mithridates, did not think proper to

wait for the effects of his anger. He deserted to the Romans, and explained to them the projects of the king of Pontus. Among the resources which the monarch hoped would be favourable to his views, he depended not a little on the troubles occasioned at Rome by the factions of Marius and Sylla. He, indeed, received in his army Marcus Marius, who had been sent to him from Spain by Sertorius. This Roman, when he appeared, was preceded by lictors, as if he had been consul, and assumed the title of commander in chief. The king of Pontus, less jealous of honour than of profit, suffered this pomp, which procured him assistance from the nations subject to the republic, to whom he shewed the Roman eagle united to his own standards.

Lucullus, afterwards so famous by his riches, was sent against Mithridates, and in a battle which the latter gained, he was wounded by a Roman whom he had in his army. After his cure, the king of Pontus collected all the Romans in his service, formed them into one body, and then caused them to be massacred. He never performed but one act of clemency in favour of a Roman. This man, whose name was Pomponius, having been taken prisoner by his soldiers, the king, when he was brought before him, being desirous to put his firmness to the test, asked, whether if he granted him life, he could flatter himself with the hope of obtaining his friendship: "Yes,"

replied Pomponius, "if you become the friend of the Romans; but if you continue to make war upon them, you can entertain no such hope." Being little accustomed to expect acts of indulgence from their master, the courtiers were preparing to massacre Pomponius, but Mithridates checking their fury, said: "Learn to respect valour, though unfortunate."

We must feel for the fate of the people, when we see to what calamities they are exposed by the alternate defeats and victories of the ambitious who have chosen for the theatre of war the countries they inhabit: conquered one day by the one party, and recovered the next by the other, in changing masters they are only subjected to new plunderers and executioners. The unfortunate provinces of Asia experienced too often this melancholy fate. The cities of Cyzicum, Amisus, and Heraclea were exposed to the horrors of famine, and became a prey to the flames. The waters of the Halys and the Thermodon were tinged with blood; and more than two hundred years after, the ploughshare turned up the cuirasses, helmets, and, swords of the soldiers who had been buried in the plains.

It is worthy of remark, that Lucullus and Mithridates, in this war, were reduced to the same extremities; being badly obeyed by their soldiers, who sometimes refused their service on important occasions, and sometimes even deserted. The most

astonishing misfortune was the desertion of the whole army of Mithridates'. As the troops imagined that they were going to be abandoned by their chief, they abandoned him.* He was in danger of losing his life by attempting to undeceive them; and he had no other resource than flight. Being hard pressed by Lucullus, and seeing himself every moment on the point of being taken, he scattered on the road, money, plate, and other articles of value, so that the soldiers, intent on collecting these riches, slackened their pursuit, which he suspended entirely, by throwing in the way of the foremost body, a mule loaded with gold and silver. While they were sharing the booty, the king of Pontus had time to get beyond their reach. He had left his wives, sisters, and concubines, in a city named Pharnacia; and for fear that they should fall into the hands of the Romans, he sent Bacchides, one of his eunuchs, with orders to put them to death. The barbarian presented to them ropes, poison, and swords. The beautiful Monima, one of his wives, whom he had married against her will, attempted to strangle herself with the bands of her diadem: "Fatal bandage," said she, "be at least useful by assisting me to die." Her desire being frustrated by the bandage breaking, she immediately presented her bosom to the murderous sword. Another of his wives, named Berenice, and two of his sisters, Roxana and Statira, swallowed poison. Roxana, with the cup at her

lips, cursed the cruelty of her brother, and loaded him with maledictions. Statira, on the other hand, desired the eunuch to thank him, because, being himself exposed to the greatest dangers, he had taken means to save them from the brutality of the soldiers.

Mithridates retired to his father-in-law Tigranes, in Armenia. Pompey, to whom the direction of this war was entrusted by the senate, in the room of Lucullus, made overtures of peace to the king of Pontus; one of the principal conditions of which was, that he should deliver up the Roman deserters. The latter, being alarmed at this proposal, threatened Mithridates if he complied; but the haughty monarch was far from accepting these terms. In a solemn assembly he assured them, with the most terrible oaths, that while he had breath in his body he would never think of forming any alliance with the Romans. He then resumed the war, which was carried on with the most obstinate fury; but which, however, on account of Pompey's generosity, was less ruinous to the people than the preceding.

Two battles were sufficient to enable that general to disconcert all the plans of Mithridates, who was expelled from the kingdom of Pontus. Pompey got possession of his most important cities, his treasures, and his records, where he found valuable information respecting his riches, the amount of his taxes, the manner of collecting

them, and the mode of his raising troops. Several of his wives and concubines, who for the most part were the daughters of the nobility of his court, being presented to the conqueror, he treated them with respect, and sent them back to their relations. One of them, named Stratonice, delivered up to the Romans the fortress of Symphori, and the treasures it contained, demanding only the life of her son, Xiphares, who was with his father, in case he should happen to fall into the hands of Pompey. The latter promised to comply with her request; and being always generous, made a present of the treasures to Stratonice, and kept only the citadel.

The Romans were far from believing that Mithridates, or any of those by whom he was accompanied, would ever again appear. The monarch was no more spoken of, and no one knew what had become of him. The uncertainty respecting his fate lasted two years, during which he concealed himself in the territories of a Scythian prince, whose states bordered on the Palus Mæotis. In this retreat, he watched for a favourable moment to return to his kingdom. His measures were so well concerted, and with so great secrecy, that the Romans were not informed of his arrival, till he appeared at the head of a formidable army. At first, he advanced against the fortress of Symphori. Stratonice, who had given it up on condition of her son being saved, saw from the top of the walls

the unfortunate Xiphares, abandoned by his father to the executioners, and subjected to a cruel death.

Mithridates then sent messengers to Pompey, with proposals of peace: "Tigranes," replied the Roman general, "came to demand peace in person." "I will die," returned Mithridates, "rather than submit to such humiliation." At that moment he conceived the bold project of wresting the empire of the universe from the Romans. He endeavoured to excite enemies against them among the Scythians; sent emissaries to all the princes of Asia, and particularly the king of the Parthians; and formed a league with the Gauls, whom he knew to be at war with the republic. He intended to traverse Scythia and Pannonia, in order to repair to Gaul, that he might join his army to that which he hoped would be there ready to co-operate with him, and then to fall on Italy together, and astonish the republic by the boldness of their operations.

Multiplied obstacles opposed the success of this project, which appeared gigantic; but which, after what had been done by Hannibal, gave reason to hope for its success. Unfortunately, four of the sons of Mithridates, whose valour might have been of great use to him, were delivered up to the Romans by treachery, and several of his daughters, whom he sent to Scythia to marry Scythian princes, in order to gain them over to his party, experienced the like fate. In the last place, Pharnaces, who of all

his children he loved most, and for whom he intended the crown, made his army revolt, and overturned the projects of his father by the most odious perfidy.

#935.

It appears that this measure was concerted with the Romans, who had employed emissaries to excite discontent in the army. They represented to the soldiers the danger of such an expedition, the least risk of which was to be deprived of the means of ever again seeing their country. The officers also had personal complaints against the king, who, they said, consulted only slaves and abject flatterers; and who had become cruel and insupportable to those who did not servilely enter into his views, or who dared to tell him the truth. He had indeed punished with death the sincerity of one of his sons, named Exipodras, for having given his opinion with the frankness of a soldier, respecting the intended expedition.

A little time before the day fixed for his departure, Mithridates, whose army was encamped under the walls of a city, where he had taken up his quarters, was awakened early in the morning by a confused noise, which seemed to come from the camp. Having sent one of his servants to enquire into the cause, he was told, without ceremony, that the army, incensed at seeing themselves conducted by a decrepid king, abandoned to the counsels of vile eunuchs, had proclaimed one younger, who was entitled to their whole confi-

dence. On this intelligence, Mithridates imagining that it was only a mere tumult, which would be quelled by his presence, mounted his horse, and set out, accompanied by his guards; but he had scarcely got without the walls when they abandoned him: they discharged their weapons at him, and his horse being killed, he had no other resource than to return to the city. His friends advised him to demand from Pharnaces a guard of safety for himself, and for them. He complied with their request; but the envoys he dispatched for that purpose were either massacred, or having joined in the revolt did not return.

Mithridates, however, did not despair, and made another attempt. He ascended the ramparts, and addressing himself to Pharnaces, reminded him, in the most impressive manner, of the affection he had always shewn to him, in preference to his brothers, and how much he had distinguished him by his favours. He endeavoured, at the same time, to make him sensible of the indignity it would be to abandon him, without defence, to the Romans, his cruel enemies; and requested that he would, at least, give him a safe passage, that he might go in quest of an asylum to which he could retire. But this moving scene made no impression on the heart of Pharnaces. The unfortunate monarch then finding his condition desperate, raised his eyes bathed in tears towards heaven, and loaded his son with imprecations: "May the gods,"

said he, when he concluded, "make you one day
"experience the perfidy of an unnatural son, and
"the torments which such ingratitude must oc-
"casion to a father." Then turning to those
around him, he thanked them for their attach-
ment, and advised them to give way to the cir-
cumstances of the moment, and to acknowledge
his son: "As for me," said he, "being incapable
"of living in that state of humiliation into which
"I am plunged by a son whom I tenderly loved,
"I shall find means to save myself from his fatal
"plots."

After this melancholy farewell he entered the
apartment of his women, took a poisoned cup,
and having drank the liquor, made his daughters,
Nissa and Mithridatis, who were on the eve of mar-
rying, one the king of Cyprus, and the other that
of Egypt, follow his example. He presented the
fatal cup also to all his concubines, and a moment
was sufficient to plunge them into the sleep of
death. As for him, being familiarized from his
infancy to the use of poisons, what he had swal-
lowed produced no effect, so that he was at last
obliged to stab himself with his sword. The wound
was not mortal, and Pharnaces, when informed
of the event, gave orders that it should be dressed;
with a view, as is said, of delivering him up to the
Romans, and of gaining their favour by this pre-
sent; but he did not enjoy that unworthy satisfac-
tion. A soldier, named Bithocus, who had en-

tered the palace with the hope of plunder, made his way to the apartment where Mithridates lay weltering in his blood, abandoned by every body, and struggling with death. Struck by the air of grandeur which still appeared in the person of the monarch, he was going to retire; but Mithridates called him, and conjured him to put an end to that existence which only prolonged his misfortunes. Bithocus rendered him this last service; but being suddenly seized with a sensibility very uncommon in a soldier, he departed, filled with the most melancholy ideas, and without thinking of the booty which he had come in quest of.

Such was the end of Mithridates. He possessed all those admirable qualities which form a great king; but disgraceful vices, and particularly cruelty, lessened the splendour of virtues, by which he ought to have been immortalized. The victories which he gained, give him a distinguished rank among the most celebrated generals of antiquity, though he often experienced very severe defeats. He several times saw his armies cut to pieces, his fortresses rased, and his states ravaged; but as if his strength had been revived by his losses, he appeared always in the field much more formidable than before. In a word, notwithstanding all the efforts of his enemies to get him into their possession, he voluntarily put himself to death in his own kingdom, and left it to his descendants.

The most unequivocal proof of the merit of this

prince, is the universal joy of the Roman people and army when they heard of his death. A courier dispatched by Pharnaces brought the intelligence to Pompey, who was then at the distance of some days' journey. Being impatient to communicate the news to his soldiers, the latter did not wait till they had constructed for him a mount of turf to harangue from, as was usual on such occasions, but ordered them to form one in great haste with their saddles. The army received the intelligence with the most lively demonstrations of joy, which they expressed by feasts, dances, and sacrifices. At Rome the people seemed to be no less overjoyed at the event. Cicero, who was then consul, ordered a thanksgiving of twelve days to the immortal gods, for having delivered the republic from an enemy so powerful and formidable. The tribunes also caused a decree to be passed, that Pompey, as a grateful return for the services he had rendered in this war, should be authorized to wear a crown of laurel at the Circensian games, and a purple gown at the scenical plays.

The base Pharnaces, not being able to deliver his father alive into Pompey's hands, sent him the body preserved in brine, together with his rich armour. All the officers, as well as the common soldiers, flocked to see the king's body; but Pompey was so affected by the spectacle that he averted his eyes, and said, that all enmity between that

great prince and the Roman people was now at an end. He ordered the body to be buried with great magnificence in the tomb belonging to the kings of Pontus. Several princes were desirous to obtain pieces of the monarch's armour, and purchased them at a very high price. His turban fell into the hands of a Roman, whose descendants preserved it a long time as a valuable inheritance.

The treasures which Pharnaces delivered to Pompey, or which he pointed out to him and suffered him to take, afforded matter of surprise to the Roman general, and a plain catalogue of the principal articles would even astonish the reader. In the city of Talaurea, which Mithridates called his wardrobe, were found two thousand cups of onyx, set in gold and silver, and such a number of saddles and bridles, enriched with diamonds, that the commissioners of the republic were employed thirty-one days in making out a list of them. In another castle there were three large tables, with nine salvers of massy gold, set with precious stones of great value; the statues of Mars, Minerva, and Apollo, of pure gold and curious workmanship; and a pair of gaming tables of two precious stones, three feet broad, and four feet long, on which was a moon of gold weighing thirty-pounds, with their men, all of the same precious stone. A fortress in the mountains contained a statue of the king, eight cubits high, made of massy gold, together with his throne and sceptre, and the bed of Darius,

the son of Hyſtaſpes. The greater part of theſe valuable articles was tranſmitted from hand to hand by pillage; from Syria to Egypt, and from Egypt to Greece. Beſides what he had acquired by plunder, Mithridates, who was not deſtitute of taſte, and who was fond of magnificence, had collected from all quarters during a long reign an immense quantity of curious objects of every kind. They ſerved to ornament the triumph of Pompey, which laſted two days. Five ſons and two daughters of Mithridates were exhibited publicly on that occaſion, with three hundred and ſeventeen captives of the firſt quality. Pompey was maſter of their lives; and though ſome generals, in the like ſituation, had made a cruel uſe of this right, he ſent them all back to their country except the king's children, who were detained at Rome.

Pharnaces,
2936.

He adopted this meaſure, perhaps, that he might not give umbrage to Pharnaces, who behaved with the moſt ſervile complacency to the Romans; and who declared that he would not aſſume the title of king until he ſhould obtain their permiſſion. Notwithſtanding this meannefs he obtained only a very ſmall part of the ſtates of his father, under the name of the kingdom of Boſporus. Though humble before thoſe who were ſtronger, as he had formerly been before his father Mithridates, he had ſtill ſufficient courage to engage in war. He took advantage of the civil diſſenſions at Rome, to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of

Armenia and Cappadocia. At that time Cæsar was engaged in Egypt; and Pharnaces knew that the dictator would be called to Africa by urgent business as soon as he had got rid of his expedition to Alexandria. For this reason he endeavoured to amuse him with proposals of peace; but Cæsar having put himself at the head of a thousand cavalry, appeared at a moment when he was least expected; fell upon the foldiers of Pharnaces, crying out, "Shall not such a barbarous parricide be punished!" and obtained a complete victory. It was upon this occasion that he wrote to his friends the following celebrated words: "I came, I saw, I conquered."

Pharnaces escaped, and shut himself up in a citadel, where he was besieged by Domitius, Cæsar's lieutenant-general. He offered to capitulate, on condition of being suffered to retire into Bosporus with those who might choose to accompany him. This demand was granted; but the Roman general caused all the king's horses to be killed, as he had asked a safe-conduct only for his horsemen. He then retired on foot to Scythia, where he collected some troops who inspired him with hopes, and he even ventured to attack Asander, whom the Romans had invested with his kingdom; but he perished in the battle. After Pharnaces, the kingdom of Pontus, dismembered and re-united, according to the will or caprice of republican factions, and afterwards of the empe-

tors, was given in succession to several chiefs, some of whom are scarcely worthy of the name of kings. We find under Caligula a certain Polemon, who on hearing of the beauty of Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa, king of the Jews, caused himself to be circumcised, in order to obtain her in marriage. His conversion from idolatry to Judaism had so little effect on his morals that his spouse abandoned him, being disgusted with his debaucheries. Under Vespasian, Pontus became irrevocably a Roman province. It emerged from its obscurity after the crusades, under the Comneni, who established there the empire of Trebifond. Mahomet II. overturned this throne, and added to the Turkish empire Trebifond and the kingdom of Pontus. It would be in vain to seek now for objects worthy of attention in the ruins which cover these countries, inhabited for the most part by descendants of the degenerate Greeks of the middle ages.

CAPPADOCIA.

Cappadocia,
between
Pontus, Ly-
caonia, Ar-
menia the
Less, Galatia
and the
Euphrates.

Cappadocia, like Pontus, formed part of the empire of Trebifond; and, like Pontus, it is at present sunk in barbarity; that is to say, as destitute of arts and sciences as when it came from the hands of nature, except that instead of being covered with forests it is strewed with the ruins of cities, by which it was once decorated. The most remarkable of those still existing are Cæsarea, which was the capital, and is still distinguished by

its commerce; and Comana, where there was a magnificent temple dedicated to Bellona. Six thousand persons of both sexes were set apart for the worship of that goddess; and the high-priest was generally chosen from the royal family. He was lord of the whole surrounding country, and his dignity made him the second person in the state. Next to him was the high-priest of Jupiter, who had under his command three thousand people, with a certain district, and a suitable revenue. It is not known what rank was enjoyed between these two by the high-priest of Diana, who in power, riches, luxury, pomp, and magnificence, equalled the first lords of the kingdom. Oaths were administered; and such engagements as people wished to render valid, were ratified in his temple. These different establishments shew that the worship of the heathen deities was an affair of importance among the Cappadocians. It appears that their religion was a mixture of that of the Greeks and that of the Persians, whom they held a long time under their dominion. Attachment, however, to the splendour of religious ceremonies, is not always the sign of internal reformation; since at the time even when these sumptuous establishments existed, that is to say, at the period when the country was conquered by the Romans, Cappadocian was a term of reproach which implied a man void of morality or religion. The country, too much intersected by mountains to

be generally fertile, is not destitute of the necessities of life. The Cappadocian horses have, at all times, been highly esteemed, and are still a considerable article of trade. It is not known what has become of the mines of silver, alum, copper, and iron, which were found here, nor of the alabaster, crystal, and jasper, which the inhabitants exchanged with their neighbours.

The kings of Cappadocia are traced back to Pharnaces, on whom Cyrus conferred this small kingdom, out of gratitude for his having saved him from being torn to pieces by a lion, during a hunting excursion. The weakness of these monarchs rendered them an easy conquest. The stronger often consider contradiction as an insult. Hence it happened that the efforts made by some of the Cappadocian kings to free themselves from oppression, were treated as acts of rebellion, and as such punished. Perdiccas, one of the successors of Alexander, had the barbarity to crucify Ariarathes II. and all the princes of the blood royal, whom he had taken in a battle. An infant, who escaped from the massacre, ascended the throne of his ancestors, and was the father of Ariaramnes II. whose reign was rendered illustrious, neither by battles nor conquests, but by his love of justice, and a thousand other noble qualities which made him highly esteemed. He was beloved by all the neighbouring princes, and respected as a father. Cappadocia was never so flourishing as under his

administration. The peace which he always maintained with other kings, brought into his states all those blessings with which it is usually attended.

After having borne the yoke of the Persians, the petty kings of Cappadocia groaned under that of the Romans. Ariarathes VI. for some services which had been rendered to him by the republic, sent to Rome a golden crown. The senate sent back a chair of ivory, the most distinguished present it ever made, and which it never granted but to its most constant and zealous friends. It is a piece of praise-worthy address to be able to attach a great value in the public opinion to things of little moment.

Ariarathes VI. was killed in the service of the ^{2844.} Romans, and left six children under the guardianship of Laodice their mother. As they grew up she destroyed them by poison, that she might retain her authority. This crime was discovered when only one of them remained, and the cruel and unnatural mother was massacred by the people. Ariarathes VII. did not long escape the fate destined for this unfortunate family. Mithridates, his father-in-law, caused him to be poisoned by the worthless Gordius, and killed his son with his own hand during an interview. After the tragical death of Ariarathes VIII. the Romans were desirous of restoring to the Cappadocians what they called liberty; that is to say, to give them a republican form of government; but they replied that they

could not do without a king. This declaration appeared very strange to the senate; yet they allowed them to choose for themselves. They had the prudence, however, to select one agreeable to the Romans, named Ariobarzanes. This prince governed them a long time in peace; and in his life-time resigned the crown to his son, that he might spend the remainder of his days in tranquillity. If he was killed, as some authors say, without having been avenged by his son, we might class him among those princes who have had cause to repent of their abdication.

Archelaus, the last king of Cappadocia, was indebted for his elevation to the surprizing beauty of Glaphyra his mother, who had captivated the heart of Mark Anthony. He was an excellent character; a good father; a good master; a good friend; and endowed with every virtue, civil and domestic. These qualities were not calculated to please the emperor Tiberius; and those of Tiberius, no doubt, were as little agreeable to Archelaus. Owing to this or to other reasons, the king of Cappadocia shewed some marks of indifference for that prince while he lived, under Augustus, in a kind of disgrace, at Rhodes. The exile, when he ascended the throne of the Cæsars, remembered this circumstance, and ordered Archelaus to Rome. He repaired thither on the word of Tiberius, who promised him a favourable reception; but the emperor treated him with so much contempt, that,

possessing great sensibility, he died of grief, according to some; and, according to others, killed himself. This good prince wrote a book on agriculture. After his death Cappadocia became a Roman province, governed by the equestrian order.

PERGAMUS.

The kingdom of Pergamus takes its name from ^{Pergamus,} a city in the province of Mysia, which was its ^{2715.} capital. It never had any certain or fixed limits; but its kings, though of a moderate rank, attained to extraordinary power, and were the chief supporters of the Romans in Asia. They afterwards became the dependants of those whose oppressive efforts they had seconded, and lastly their subjects. A remarkable circumstance, and which hitherto is peculiar to Pergamus, is, that the founder of this monarchy was an eunuch. He was at first governor of Pergamus, and made himself king to avoid being sacrificed by Lyfimachus, to the hatred of Arsinoe his wife. He was succeeded by one of his brothers named Eumenes, whose son Attalus inherited the sceptre. These two names, Eumenes and Attalus, have been alternately, for the most part, those of the kings of Pergamus.

This Attalus is the first who made an alliance with ^{Attalus I.} the Romans. The decemvirs, in his time, found a prediction of the sibyls, which declared that all foreigners who should make any attempts against the liberty of Italy would be beat and expelled, if

the Romans could place in Rome the image of the great mother of the gods of Mount Ida, which had fallen to the earth from heaven. Five deputies being sent by the senate to request that Attalus would give them this palladium, which was to be found in his states, he delivered to them the venerable object, sought after with so much eagerness. It consisted of a rude, shapeless, mass of stone. Attalus I. was a conqueror, and a man of letters. It must, however, be allowed, that he was rather too severe in regard to a wretched detractor of Homer, named Daphidas, whom he caused to be precipitated from the summit of a rock.

Eumenes II.
2802.

The Romans were under great obligations to Eumenes II. He watched over their affairs in the neighbourhood as he did over his own; and it was through him they were informed of the projects which Antiochus the Great was forming against them. His states were often a prey to hostile incursions in consequence of his attachment to the republic; and his capital even experienced a siege on the same account. Eumenes exposed not only his troops but his person for the Romans in the battle of Magnesia, the success of which was chiefly owing to his courage and bravery. They rewarded him for this service by augmenting his kingdom with some of the provinces taken from Antiochus. It was on account also, no doubt, of the attachment of Eumenes to the Ro-

mans, that Hannibal excited against him Prusias king of Bithynia. It is related, that this prince gained a complete victory at sea, for which he was indebted to the address of the Carthaginian. By his advice he caused to be collected in earthen jars a prodigious multitude of serpents, and other venomous reptiles, which he put on board several of his vessels. These vessels, surrounding that of Eumenes, threw into it this new kind of enemies; and the necessity under which the Pergamians found themselves of pursuing means to avoid being bitten, produced disorder in his fleet, which was entirely defeated. The senate interfered in the difference of the two kings, and they entered into an accommodation.

Eumenes gave a great proof of his attachment to the Romans, by going himself to Rome to unveil to them the secret designs of Perseus king of Macedonia. On his return, Perseus caused him to be attacked on the road by assassins, who imagined that they had buried him under a shower of stones; but he was carried off by some faithful servants, who took care to get his wounds dressed. His cure was kept so secret, and continued so long, that he was supposed to be dead; and his brother Attalus, without making much enquiry, assumed the crown, and married his wife Stratonice. Eumenes returned; and it appears that his benevolent character was well known, since neither his brother nor his wife attempted to conceal them-

selves. Having both gone to meet him, he embraced them tenderly, and only whispered to Attalus: "Another time, when you wish to espouse my wife, wait at least till I am dead."

It might be believed, that the connexion between Eumenes and the Romans, cemented by mutual services, would never have been broken; but sometimes a mere trifle is sufficient to embroil old friends. The consul Marius, through haughtiness or other motives, refused the king of Pergamus permission to encamp with his suite within the Roman entrenchments. This insult made him instantly retire, and he carried back his troops into his own territories. Perfes took advantage of this opportunity to solicit the alliance of Eumenes; and the reasons assigned by the Macedonian ambassador were, that no real friendship could ever exist between a king and a republic. "The Romans," said he, "are irreconcilable enemies to all kings, but they are artful enough never to attack more than one at a time, making use of the treasures of the one to attack the other; and they employ this policy till they have destroyed them all." Perfes, by this reasoning, and still more by a large sum of money which he promised, induced Eumenes, at least, to remain inactive. The Romans never forgave their old ally for this kind of defection. The king of Pergamus, after the defeat of Perfes, was desirous of exculpating himself for his conduct, and with

that view sent his brother Attalus to Rome. The resentment of the Romans was so great against Eumenes, that they endeavoured to prevail on his brother to demand the crown for himself; but he generously resisted their insinuations.

As Eumenes imagined that his presence might operate a change of opinion in his favour, he set out for Italy; but he had no sooner arrived than the senate sent to inform him, that they would not give him an audience, and to desire him to return, without loss of time. When he went back to his kingdom he dispatched Athenæus, and another of his brothers, to endeavour to avert the blow with which he believed he was threatened from his old friends. These republicans, who never were acquainted with delicacy, had the harshness to send to Asia two commissioners, who issued a public invitation to all those who had complaints against Eumenes to repair to them at Sardis. They listened with great attention to the accusations brought against the king of Pergamus. Eumenes felt in a sensible manner the insult offered to him by this measure, but being afraid of involving himself in a war, dangerous in itself, and which his age would render still more formidable, he once more sent to Rome his brother Attalus. This prince required only from his inexorable enemies that he might be suffered to end his days in peace; and his wish was gratified, for he died soon after. He had only one child, still

an infant; and he resigned his wife Stratonice, together with his crown, to his brother Attalus, until his son should be capable of ascending the throne. Eumenes established the beautiful library of Pergamus, which rivalled that of Alexandria. He lived on the best terms with his three brothers, whom he employed without the least jealousy, and who resided in his court without fear: an instance of fraternal concord perhaps the only one of its kind that ever occurred in Asia.

Attalus II.
2840.

Another singularity is, that Attalus II. never considered the crown but as a deposit intrusted to his care. He was engaged in a bloody war with Prusias, king of Bithynia, who carried his success so far as to take possession of Pergamus. The conduct of the Romans, in these wars of the princes of Asia Minor, is very astonishing; as they had so much influence that they dictated laws even without a standing army. They sent ambassadors to the states adjacent to the belligerent powers, desiring them to raise troops, which they caused to march against that party whom they wished to restrain; and after some years, when the combatants had ruined themselves, they sent other ambassadors to make peace. Such was the conduct which they observed towards Attalus and Prusias, the latter of whom was dethroned by his son, with the assistance of Attalus. As the plot was formed at Rome by the son, named

Nicomedes, it must have been known to the senate ; but they suffered the father and son to carry on their contest ; and when Nicomedes sent to Rome to announce that he was on the throne of Bithynia, his ambassadors were well received, and no one so much as asked after his father, whom he had caused to be put to death. This connexion with a parricide is a stain in the character of Attalus, though Prusias, in some measure, deserved his fate for having attempted through mere jealousy to get his son dispatched. Attalus had two sons, yet he wished that the crown of Pergamus should be placed on the head of his nephew, as he had promised to his brother. He gave to this young prince an education worthy of his rank. Attalus maintained men of learning at his court ; and took much pleasure in their conversation.

The excellent education given to Attalus III. Attalus III. 2862. was a feeble restraint on the bad qualities which had been lavishly bestowed on him by nature. Was he a tyrant, or a madman, or both ? We shall be enabled to determine this question by his actions. He caused the greater part of his relations, and the friends of his family, to be assassinated ; some of them accused of having shortened the days of Stratonice his mother, who died of old age ; and others for having done the same thing to Stratonice his wife, who was carried to her grave by an incurable malady. The death of

the unfortunate victims was followed by that of their wives and children. Attalus employed for these executions foreign foldiers, as all those do who command massacres, in order that their victims, being unknown to those destined to butcher them, may not escape the sword by commiseration.

After having shed streams of blood, the king of Pergamus allowed himself to fall into a state of deep melancholy. He remained shut up in his palace, dressed in mean attire, and suffered his hair and beard to grow without taking the least care of them. He afterwards confined himself to a garden, dug the earth with his own hands, and sowed in it herbs of every kind, some of which were poisonous. Being cruel even in his amusements, he mixed these with wholesome pulse, and sent packets of them to persons of whose intentions he was suspicious. Finding himself alone in his palace, shunned by his relations, his friends, and his courtiers, who dreaded his savage disposition, he took it into his head to exercise the trade of a founder; but he fatigued himself so much one very hot day, in casting a statue of his mother, that he was seized with a fever, which put an end to his existence. This prince may be classed among the number of those who have written on agriculture. He perfectly understood medicine, and was exceedingly well versed in the knowledge of simples. A taste for the sciences

seems to have been hereditary among the kings of Pergamus.

The last folly of Attalus was his will, which contained the following clause—"Let the Roman people be the heirs of my effects." Aristonicus, a natural son of Eumenes, to whom the kingdom, for want of a legitimate heir, ought to have belonged, according to the Asiatic custom, pretended that the word "effects" signified only his moveable property, and not his kingdom, but the senate insisted that it comprehended both. Aristonicus was favoured by the Pergamians, who, according to the historians, "being accustomed to the monarchic government, were afraid of republican despotism." Two consuls, Licinius Crassus, pontifex maximus, and Lucius Valerius Silaceus, high-priest of Mars, disputed for the advantage of carrying on the war against Aristonicus, because it was believed that great riches would be the reward of victory. Crassus obtained the command, and, contrary to his expectation, was defeated and taken prisoner. Being unwilling to survive this disgrace, he insulted one of his guards, and provoked him to such a degree, that he put him to death. Perpenna, who was sent to assume the command in his stead, found Aristonicus too confident, on account of his victory, and enjoying, amidst tranquillity, the pleasures of an indolent life, as if he had nothing more to apprehend. He was surprized, therefore, by the Roman general,

and after an unfortunate battle, fled to a city the inhabitants of which delivered him up.

He had for counsellor, or minister, a philosopher named Blofius, who had been intimately connected with Tiberius Gracchus, and is supposed to have inspired that Roman with the desire of reviving the Agrarian law. Being prosecuted after the death of Gracchus, when the consul asked him why he had espoused the party of a seditious tribune, he replied: "Because his party appeared to me to be the justest." "But," added the judge, "what motive induced you to become his agent?" "No motive," answered Blofius, "but his merit." "You would have set fire then to the capitol," resumed the consul, "if Gracchus had ordered you." "Consul," returned the philosopher, "respect his memory; such an extraordinary enterprize could never have entered his head. Had he commanded me, however, I should certainly have executed his orders, under a persuasion that they must have been consistent with the public good." This was certainly an enthusiast, such as is necessary in factions. Blofius quitted Rome, filled with contempt for the degenerate people who had suffered his friend to be massacred. Having fallen, together with Aristonicus, into the hands of Perpenna, he exhorted that prince to prefer a voluntary death to shameful slavery; and he immediately set him the example. Aristonicus, by not

following it was exposed to one ignominy more, being dragged in triumph, and afterwards strangled in prison by order of the senate.

The inhabitants of the kingdom of Pergamus continued, for a long time, to defend themselves against the Romans. Aquilius, who was sent to put an end to the war, being obliged to lay siege to the greater part of the towns, in succession; and as most of them, by their situation on mountains, could receive no water but by means of aqueducts, the Roman general, instead of cutting down the aqueducts, which did not exceed the cruel rights of war, poisoned the springs, and thus spread death and desolation throughout the places which he blockaded. It does not appear that Rome, which could not be ignorant of this barbarous method of carrying on war, was hurt by it, since it authorized this poisoner to govern the kingdom, and to reduce it into the form of a province.

THRACE.

Thrace contained the city of Byzantium, at present called Constantinople. This is sufficient to fix the position of the country. Taken in general, it was sometimes called a kingdom, though it was only an assemblage of different provinces, independent on each other. There were some of them whose princes united their neighbours under their sceptre, and assumed the diadem; but they

Thrace, between Mount Hæmus, the Ægean sea, the Pontus Euxinus, the Hellespont, the Propontis, Macedonia, and the river Strymon.

rarely transmitted it to their descendants. It is to be presumed, that if these people, who were brave, temperate, and inured to fatigue, had been unanimous in their councils, they might have become one of the most powerful nations on the earth.

The interior part of the country is cold, and destitute of fertility, because the mountains are covered with snow during the greater part of the year; but the maritime provinces produce grain and fruits of every kind. The climate is mild, and renders it as agreeable a residence as any of the most beautiful countries of Asia. The ancient Thracians were ferocious and cruel. It was almost always Thracian soldiers that tyrants employed for their sanguinary executions. They followed the same religion as the Greeks; but they honoured in a particular manner Mars and Mercury, the gods of the brave, and of thieves.

The Thracians wept at the birth of their children, and rejoiced at the death of their neighbours. Such a bad idea did they entertain of life! In districts where polygamy was established, the women disputed with each other for the honour of having been most beloved, in order that they might be sacrificed by the nearest relation at the tomb of their husbands. They sold their children, and bestowed very little care in watching over their daughters; but they were exceedingly jealous of their wives. Idleness, in their eyes, had an air of

dignity and grandeur ; and they considered it honourable to live by rapine.

The names alone of the different Thracian tribes would form a very long list ; but it would be difficult to swell it with interesting facts. We find in the history of the Dolonci a very dexterous stratagem employed to get possession of a throne without violence. On the death of the king of the country which was situated in the Chersonesus, his brother came from Athens, where he resided, with a design of succeeding him. When he arrived, finding that the Chersonesians were not disposed to give him the crown, he led a retired life, under a pretence of mourning for the death of his brother. The Thracians, participating in his affliction, sent the chiefs of the different cities to compliment him in the name of the nation ; but the afflicted prince caused them all to be detained ; and with these hostages he found no difficulty to get himself acknowledged sovereign of the country which had been governed by his brother.

The Bessi, the inhabitants of Mount Hæmus, the most ferocious of all the Thracians, whose capital was Adrianople, notwithstanding their own bravery, and the ruggedness of their country, were subdued by the Romans. The republicans left them their kings ; but Piso, the governor of Macedonia, being as appears dissatisfied with one of

them, surprized him by treachery, and caused him to be publicly beheaded. The nation, incensed at this act of perfidy, shook off the yoke of the Romans. A priest of Bacchus, under the pretence of religion, formed a powerful party among them, and gave a great deal of trouble to the Romans, who wished for no other superstition than that of liberty.

The following is a maxim of one of the Thracian monarchs: "There is no difference between a king fond of peace and a groom." This prince died at the age of eighty-two, after having carried on war during his whole life. We might say with greater justice, that a good groom is better than such a king. We are acquainted with the names and position of eighteen Thracian hordes, and the names and succession of a dozen of kings, or rather chiefs of bands of plunderers. They were treated as such by the Romans; who placed them on the throne, made them descend from it, exiled, imprisoned, and punished them at their pleasure; but they did not neglect their treasures, which often became a prey to their avaricious generals. This country, though the seat of ignorance, produced Democritus the philosopher, and Thucydides, the historian.

EPIRUS.

Epirus, a rugged country, was covered, even in the defiles, and on the fummits of its mountains, with a multitude of towns. The sea also bathed the ramparts of many famous cities, all of which were peopled by warlike inhabitants. Epirus had nothing uncommon among its productions but the Molossian dogs, which were strong, fierce, and obstinate animals. The horses of Epirus were formerly, and still are, esteemed. This kingdom is said to have been formed by the junction of ten different tribes. At the head of them is placed the Selli, as being the most ancient. To them belonged the care of the temple of Dodona, dedicated to Jupiter, the Pelasgian. Homer calls them priests.

Epirus, between the Ceraunian mountains, the gulph of Ambracia, Thessaly, Macedonia, and the Ionian sea.

This poet has celebrated the exploits of Pyrrhus, who perhaps was not the first king of Epirus; but the reigns of the rest are involved in obscurity. This prince was the son of Achilles, and avenged the death of his father, killed at the siege of Troy. After having sacrificed old Priam at the foot of the altar, he threw from the summit of a tower young Astyanax, the son of Hector; made his mother Andromache his concubine; and butchered at the tomb of Achilles, Polyxena, the daughter of the unfortunate Priam. After the siege of Troy, he conquered all Epirus; at the head of

the Molossi, his first subjects. Pyrrhus was called also Neoptolemus, which signifies the young warrior ; and this name he retained in his old age. He was assassinated in the same manner as he had put to death the unfortunate Priam, on the steps of the altar, in the temple of Delphi, which he wished to plunder. His death gave rise to the proverb ' Neoptolemic vengeance.' The Pyrrhic dance, which was executed by armed men, and much celebrated among the ancients, was so called from his name, because he had practised it around the tomb of Achilles.

Tharymbas.
Arybas.

The successors of Pyrrhus, in lineal descent, were Molossus, Pielus, and Admetus. The last of these left an infant son, named Tharymbas. The Epirots, by a public decree, entrusted the guardianship and the care of his education to Sabylinthus, a man of high birth, and great probity, who caused his pupil to be bred at Athens, under his own inspection, and took care that he should apply to the study of the belles-lettres. Tharymbas, therefore, has been considered as one of the most learned princes of his time. He introduced the arts and the sciences among the Epirots. On account of the wise laws which he framed for them, he has been ranked among the number of legislators. After two kings, named Alcetas and Neoptolemus, the Epirots were so fortunate as to have one more who was a friend to the sciences. Arybas communicated the same taste to the

children of his brother, for whom he held the crown in trust. At his death he restored it to Alexander, the youngest of his nephews. His niece Olympias was the mother of Alexander the Great.

Alexander of Epirus became unfortunately filled with a desire of rivalling Alexander the Macedonian. They were nearly of the same age; but while the Macedonian was making his armies triumph in the east, the bad destiny of the Epirot led him into the west, which was inhabited by warlike people. He said, therefore, with chagrin, that his nephew had to combat against women, while he, on the other hand, had found only men. He was killed in an unfortunate expedition, and left no children. He was succeeded by *Æacides*, of a collateral branch, descended from *Pyrrhus*. He behaved ill towards his subjects, by whom he was expelled; but they gave the crown to his brother *Alcetas*, who seems to have behaved no better than the banished monarch, since he was massacred by his subjects, together with two of his sons.

Alexander.
Æacides.

When the Epirots revolted against his father *Pyrrhus*, *Æacides*, and expelled him from the throne, young *Pyrrhus*, who was still in the cradle, had nearly fallen a victim to their fury; but he was saved by two of the chief noblemen of the country, who carried him to the court of *Glaucias* king of *Illyria*, who had married his aunt. *Glaucias* re-

refused at first to receive the young prince, for fear of involving himself in war with the enemies of *Æacides*. His conductors, however, after employing the most affecting supplications, deposited the infant at the feet of his uncle. The child, as if he had comprehended their intentions, crept towards the knees of the king, and embraced them. *Glaucias* was unable to resist the caresses of innocence. He, at length, became softened; swore to defend the child at the peril of his own life, and committed him to the care of his wife, to be educated as one of his sons. When the boy had attained to the age of twelve years, he conducted him himself into *Epirus*, and placed him on the throne. Others say that he was voluntarily recalled by his subjects.

At the age of seventeen he again lost the kingdom by his imprudence. Imagining himself secure on the throne, he went to *Illyria*, to be present at the marriage of one of the sons of *Glaucias*, with whom he had been educated. During his absence, his subjects revolted, and gave the crown to his grand-uncle *Neoptolemus*. This misfortune turned out advantageous to *Pyrrhus*, as it furnished him with an opportunity of forming himself at a distance from the throne, and from officious flatterers, by whom he had been surrounded. Being stripped of his states, he retired to *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, his sister's husband. Under this great general he learned the art of war; distinguished

himself at the battle of Ipsus by uncommon bravery; and found means to preserve to his brother-in-law, after his defeat, the cities of Greece, which the latter had intrusted to his protection. He even carried his services still farther. Demetrius having concluded a peace with Ptolemy king of Egypt, Pyrrhus consented to go thither as an hostage. His mildness, his moderation, and his dexterity in exercises of every kind, procured him the esteem of the Egyptians. Berenice the queen, captivated with his noble qualities, gave him her daughter Berenice in marriage, and obtained from her husband Ptolemy an army to enable her son-in-law to recover the crown of Epirus, which he shared with his grand-uncle Neoptolemus. The old monarch, displeased at not being put in possession of the whole, attempted to poison his nephew; but Pyrrhus having obtained timely notice of his design, put to death this usurper of the throne, which he then occupied alone. His Macedonian wars have given him a high reputation, and that of Italy has placed his name on a level with that of the Romans in the annals of glory.

This war was excited by the inhabitants of Tarentum, a city of Italy, who hearing of the reputation of Pyrrhus, who was called the deliverer of Greece, sent to demand assistance from him against the oppression of the Romans. But the true motive, and the real object of the king of Epirus, are clearly expressed in his conversation

Pyrrhus in
Italy, 2719.

with Cineas, his minister. This man not only understood well the art of war, but was one of the most profound politicians, and the most eloquent orators of his time. Pyrrhus said of him: "The
"persuasive language of Cineas has procured me
"more cities than I have been able to conquer by
"the force of my arms." Being solicited by the Tarentines to come to their relief, and highly pleased that he had an opportunity of trying his strength with the Romans, he consulted Cineas respecting the vast projects which an imagination, exalted by the desire of glory, had induced him to form.

"The Tarentines," said he, "have invited
"me to assist them; if I triumph over the Ro-
"mans, the whole west will be subject to my
"power. But it is certain that it will be easy for
"me to conquer them. Hetruria will attack them
"on the one hand, and the people who inhabit
"the country on this side the Tyber are ready
"on the other to march under my command.
"What do you think of the enterprize?" Cineas, instead of giving a direct answer, said: "Af-
"ter you have conquered the Romans, whither
"will you turn your arms?" "When they shall
"be conquered," resumed Pyrrhus, "I will pass
"over into Sicily, where every thing is in con-
"fusion, by the death of king Agathocles. You
"know that the conquest of that island is of the
"utmost importance." "But when you are ma-

“ster of Sicily, what will you do then?” added the minister. “Nothing will be more easy,” replied the king, “than to pass over to Africa. “Agathocles with a small fleet was able to beat “the Carthaginians, and very little prevented him “from becoming their sovereign. When they “are subdued, Macedonia, my ancient domain, “and the whole of Greece, cannot escape me.” “And when we have conquered all,” said Cineas, “what shall we do then?” “Do then!” continued the king, “we shall live in peace, and “think only of enjoyment.” “Ah!” exclaimed the sage minister; “what prevents you from living in peace at present, and from enjoying as “you please all the comforts of life? Why “should you go so far in search of that happiness “which you have now in your own power, “and to purchase at so dear a rate what you “may obtain without any trouble?” Pyrrhus did not expect such a reply; he was somewhat disconcerted by it; but he said, disguising his ambition: “It is a practice hereditary in my family to assist the unfortunate. People ought “not always to make war for themselves.” Under this pretence he gave orders for marching to the relief of the Tarentines.

Cineas set out first with an advanced guard of three thousand men; but the war was nearly on the point of being finished before it had well begun, as the Tarentines were in treaty with the

Romans. The minister of Epirus, however, interrupted all these negotiations; caused the citadel, in which he placed a good garrison, to be delivered into his hands; and waited coolly for the king, who soon appeared, but in a state very different from what had been expected. Besides his own troops, he had borrowed some from the neighbouring princes, together with ships, in order to weaken them, and render them incapable of hurting him, as well as to make them interested in his success. But his fleet was attacked and dispersed by a storm, and he himself was exposed to the utmost danger. Seeing his vessel ready to be swallowed up by the waves, he threw himself into the sea, with his guards; and after being buffeted the whole night by the tempest, got on shore not far from Tarentum, where he was joined in succession by his troops. He was received by the Tarentines with every demonstration of joy. After his arrival they thought of nothing but pleasure, as they imagined that Pyrrhus alone would put an end to the war, and that he would lead to battle only the Epirots; but the intention of the monarch was very different. As soon as he found himself master of the city, he ordered the places of exercise to be shut, as well as the public gardens, where the inhabitants assembled to hear the news, and to settle, while they were walking, the affairs of the state. Festivals and spectacles were forbidden, as being equally dan-

gerous as political assemblies. The king made all the young men take up arms ; taught them the use of them ; incorporated them among his troops, and behaved with great severity at reviews, and to those who absented themselves, or who did not properly discharge their duty. This rigor having made many of the inhabitants leave the place, Pyrrhus declared them punishable with death, as well as those who did not appear at reviews. Spies, who introduced themselves into private companies, gave him an account of every thing that was said or transacted. In consequence of this system, the most mutinous were privately arrested, and under various pretences sent to be confined in Epirus. The calumnies propagated respecting those whose influence was dreaded, or whom they wished to render suspected by the people, were not forgotten. The surest and most common method was to persuade the people that every measure pursued to subject them was put in execution at the instigation, and by the advice, of those whom they before considered as their friends, and who had enjoyed their confidence. Thus the art of deceiving the people, and making them kiss the chains imposed on them ; of causing them to detest their protectors, and adore their executioners, with all its refinements, is not so modern as may be imagined.

The war of Pyrrhus against the Romans exhibits a new character in history, as it was con-

ducted with a regard to the rights of humanity before unknown. It must, indeed, be allowed in praise of Pyrrhus, that he was the first who employed in his operations those flattering marks of attention which shew esteem for the enemy against whom war is carried on; but his conduct was readily imitated by the Romans. They had great generals, who were neither presumptuous in victory, nor abject in defeat; and senators filled with love for their country, and models to the people by their frugality, disinterestedness, and the purity of their morals. The war with Pyrrhus is, perhaps, the noblest monument of the republic.

It began by a kind of challenge, in which haughtiness was displayed by both parties. Pyrrhus wrote to the consul Levinus: "I learn that
" you are at the head of an army destined to
" make war on the Tarentines. Disband that
" army as soon as possible, and come and explain
" your pretensions. When I have heard both
" parties I will give judgment; and I know how
" to make my sentence be obeyed." The answer of Levinus was as follows: "Know, Pyrrhus,
" that the republic neither admits you as an ar-
" biter, nor fears you as an enemy. By what
" right do you pretend to be a judge, when you
" have injured us by landing in Italy without our
" consent? We will have no arbitrator but Mars,
" from whom we are descended." The two armies soon found themselves in the field opposed to

each other; and the king of Epirus could not help admiring the noble and undaunted appearance of the Romans. It may be said, that in the first battle they were defeated by the elephants; for these animals had never been before seen in Italy. The horses, unable to bear their smell, and frightened at the strange noise they made, ran away with their riders, and left the legions uncovered. Pyrrhus found means to break their ranks, but at the expense of a great many killed and wounded; which made him say, that such another victory would ruin him. After the battle he gave orders that the Epirots and Romans should be buried without any distinction. Looking at the bodies of the latter, and observing that they had no wounds behind, that they had all fallen in the posts assigned to them, held their swords in their hands, and still retained after death a certain martial air in their faces, he exclaimed: "O that Pyrrhus had Romans for his soldiers, or the Romans Pyrrhus for their leader! Together we should be able to subdue the whole world."

This victory enabled Pyrrhus to advance into Campania; but he formed no establishment there, and returned to take up his winter quarters in Tarentum. Reflecting in that city on the skill and bravery of the Romans, he was convinced, that if he did not succeed in terminating the war by an honourable peace, his ruin would be un-

avoidable ; so that he was highly gratified when he learned that the Romans intended to send ambassadors to him, and as he believed, for the purpose of entering into a treaty. What pleasure to the king of Epirus to behold these haughty republicans at his feet, and to be able to say to them : “ I grant you peace ! ” In this confidence he received the embassy with the utmost honour. It was composed of three men of great merit : Cornelius Dolabella, celebrated by his victories ; Æmilius Papus, of tried probity ; and the virtuous Fabricius. Pyrrhus waited with a sort of impatience mixed with joy, to see what would be the proposals of the ambassadors ; but he was much surprized when they only asked for an equal exchange of prisoners, or that he would accept of a ransom for those of superior rank and dignity. The monarch, however, concealed his surprize, and appointed a certain day for returning an answer.

In that interval he behaved to the ambassadors with every mark of politeness. His object was to induce them to render the senate favourable to his wishes. He addressed himself, in particular, to Fabricius ; but the Roman shewed that he was proof against the most flattering offers. Pyrrhus, finding that he could not gain him over to his interest, was desirous of trying whether he possessed as much intrepidity as virtue, and for that purpose caused one of his largest elephants to be concealed behind a curtain, in the place where he received

the ambassadors. As Fabricius had never seen one of these animals, the king brought him within the elephant's reach ; upon which the curtain was suddenly drawn, and the monstrous animal appearing, threw his trunk over Fabricius's head, and sent forth a loud cry. The intrepid Roman turning towards the monarch, without shewing the least sign of terror, said : " Does the great king, " who could not move me by his offers, think to " frighten me by the cry of an animal ? " The king, surprized at this instance of firmness, invited him the same day to dine with him. During the repast the conversation happening to turn on the Epicurean philosophy, which Pyrrhus extolled, because perhaps it was favourable to indolence and pleasure, Fabricius, in whose character austerity of manners was not incompatible with urbanity, paid him the following delicate compliment : " May Pyrrhus, while he carries on war against " the Romans, make his happiness to consist in that " indolence so much boasted of by Epicurus ! "

The day fixed for giving his answer having arrived, the king generously set the prisoners at liberty without any ransom. He sent back the ambassadors with a polite message to the republic, accompanied by Cineas, to whom he gave orders to enter into a treaty for peace. The proposals he was to make were, that the Tarentines should be comprehended in the treaty ; and that the republic should restore liberty and their former privileges to

the Greek cities of Italy, as well as to the Samnites, and other Latin nations. On these terms Pyrrhus offered to put an end to all hostilities, and to go to Rome himself to confirm the peace by an oath. Cineas, who had been the disciple of Demosthenes, made a speech in the senate worthy of his master. A part of the senators were inclined to accept these proposals; but as several of them were absent, they referred the conclusion of the business till the next day, when Appius Claudius caused himself to be carried to the senate, which he had not attended for many years on account of great age, and the loss of sight. This respectable veteran proved so clearly to the senators how dangerous it would be for the glory and safety of Rome to agree to such a shameful treaty, that they unanimously decreed as follows: "The war against Pyrrhus shall be continued; his ambassadors shall receive orders to leave Rome this day; entrance into the city shall be refused to the king of Epirus; and notification shall be given to the chief of the embassy, that the republic will enter into no negotiation with his master until he shall quit Italy."

Cineas, much astonished, set out to carry back this haughty answer to the king. "What do you think of the senate?" said Pyrrhus. "I thought," replied Cineas, "that I was in an assembly of kings." It was necessary to have recourse once more to arms. The king was

wounded in a battle, the success of which was rendered indecisive to the Romans by his bravery; but they remained masters of the field. While the consuls were preparing for another engagement they received a letter from Nicias, the king's physician, in which he offered to poison his master if they would promise him a great reward; but being filled with detestation on account of this horrid proposal, they wrote to the monarch as follows:

" Caius Fabricius and Quintus Æmilius, consuls,
" to king Pyrrhus, health. Pyrrhus, you are
" betrayed. He whose fidelity ought to have
" been unshaken, has offered to poison you. We
" inform you of this not to court your favour, but
" in order that it may not be said that we had any
" share in a crime at which our feelings revolt. To
" put an end to the war by an act of treachery,
" would, in our opinion, be a horrid attempt; and
" we shall employ no means for that purpose, but
" such as are consistent with honour and justice."

This generous behaviour inspired the king with the most lively gratitude, and he immediately sent back all the prisoners who at different times had fallen into his hands. But the consuls did not think themselves authorized to receive presents for having abstained from committing a base action, and they accepted the prisoners only on the condition of releasing an equal number of Epirots. The losses which the king had sustained made him sincerely desirous of peace, and he once more sent

Cineas to Rome to try whether he could not prevail on the senate to enter into an accommodation; but he found them firmly resolved on listening to no proposals that might be made, until Pyrrhus should withdraw from Italy.

The Syracusans fortunately supplied this prince with a pretext for quitting Italy, as they invited him to their assistance against the Carthaginians. He at first obtained some success; but being afterwards abandoned by the Sicilians, and hard pressed by the Carthaginians, he thought himself exceedingly happy to find the same pretence for leaving Sicily as he had found for quitting Italy; that is to say, his being recalled by the Tarentines, who were threatened by the Romans. He came to a trial of strength with them once more; but on very unequal terms, for the Romans had become accustomed to the elephants, which they no longer dreaded. In the last battle they even derived very great advantage from these animals. A young elephant having been wounded, its piercing cries reached its mother, which, quitting the ranks, made her way through the soldiers, overturning every thing that opposed her, and by these means a dreadful confusion was occasioned in the army of the Epirots. Pyrrhus returned to Tarentum, and endeavoured for some time to make it be believed, that he had ordered a reinforcement of troops, and that he was determined to continue the war with activity; but, in reality, he

thought only of retiring, without, perhaps, giving up all design of returning. He left a good garrison in the citadel, and ordered the governor to defend himself to the utmost in case of an attack. To induce him to obey his instructions, he sent him a terrible memorandum, consisting of a chair covered with the skin of his perfidious physician ; but other projects made him forget Tarentum, which the Romans got into their possession.

Pyrrhus was of a fickle disposition, and readily abandoned one project for another. From Italy he returned to Macedonia, where he found the Gauls, whom he defeated ; and he then raised a trophy with the following inscription : “ Pyrrhus, king of the Molossi, dedicates to Minerva the arms of the intrepid Gauls, whom he has conquered.” This success made him imagine, that it was possible to render himself master of Greece. He thought it would be most advantageous to begin with Sparta ; but he miscarried in his enterprise, or rather, according to custom, he pretended to abandon the siege of Lacedemon, not because he was unable to succeed, but because he was invited by the citizens of Argos to assist them against two tyrants, who were disputing for the sovereignty. He perished, however, in that city, in consequence of a mistake, without obtaining the repose which Cineas advised him to enjoy. Having entered the city imprudently, and being pursued from street to street, he sent to tell his son, who

commanded the army, not to send him assistance, but to keep the gate clear. The messenger explained himself badly, and on the contrary called for a reinforcement. This new body on entering the gate found themselves opposite to that commanded by the king, who was making towards it. A scene of confusion accordingly ensued; and while Pyrrhus was endeavouring, by his cries and gestures, to make the new troops fall back to open a passage, his helmet dropped off, upon which a woman threw a tile on his head from the roof of a house and killed him on the spot.

If the testimony of an enemy, and an enlightened enemy, can establish the merit of an individual, no person possessed more military talents than Pyrrhus. The Romans acknowledged him to be their master, especially in the art of encampment. "Pyrrhus and Hannibal," says Cicero, "came to dispute with the Romans by open force for the sovereignty of Italy. People still speak with praise of the probity of the former, but the latter is execrated on account of his horrid cruelty. Pyrrhus, however, had some faults. He was a prey to ambition, and his mind was too much subject to the power of inconstancy. It was neither for the purpose of augmenting his treasures, nor of acquiring rich booty, that he endeavoured to subdue neighbouring nations. The only model whom he held up to himself for imitation was Alexander the Great;

“ and his only desire was to surpass, or approach,
 “ the great qualities of that conqueror. His ex-
 “ cessive inconstancy did him great hurt; and
 “ striking instances have been seen of it in his life;
 “ for he had no sooner tried his strength with one
 “ enemy, than he quitted him speedily to combat
 “ another; and one expedition was scarcely be-
 “ gun when he became tired of it, and went to
 “ some other kingdom to begin a new one. If
 “ he subdued any country, whatever sums the
 “ conquest of it might have cost him, he soon
 “ after withdrew from it his troops; and for this
 “ reason Antigonus compared him to a fortunate
 “ gamester, who expends without reflection what-
 “ ever he wins. He is reproached on account of
 “ his blind temerity. He one day exposed him-
 “ self in battle like a common soldier. This is
 “ not the courage suited to a general. His whole
 “ care ought to be employed on the safety and
 “ preservation of his army.”

Such is the portrait of Pyrrhus, traced out by
 the hand of a master. We shall add the following
 trait, which will not disgrace the picture. One of
 his courtiers, named Æropus, whose zeal he had
 often experienced, happening to die; when the
 king was informed of it he shed tears, and said in
 the bitterness of his grief: “ It is not his death
 “ that I lament, since, like all men, he was oblig-
 “ ed to pay the debt of nature. My affliction
 “ arises from having, as I may say, neglected him;

“ for not having properly rewarded the services
 “ which he did me, and for having suffered to es-
 “ cape opportunities of testifying what my heart
 “ felt for him.” We have no account of his do-
 mestic virtues. So excellent a friend must have
 been a good husband, and a good father; but it
 may be doubted, whether so great a warrior could
 be a good king for his people.

Alexander,
 2727.

His son Alexander was also fond of war, but he
 was prudent enough to confine himself within cer-
 tain limits; and after several conquests, he was
 capable of enjoying that repose which his father
 neglected. Three of his successors only transmitted
 the throne to each other till it came to Deidamia,
 who died unmarried. By her will she bequeathed
 power to her subjects to give themselves whatever
 form of government they might judge most pro-
 per. They took advantage of this liberty to esta-
 blish a republic; but this government introduced,
 fomented, and maintained troubles among the
 Epirots, by which they were at last forced to suffer
 Epirus to become a Roman province. A very
 remarkable custom prevailed among them under
 their kings. Every year, in a general assembly,
 the king and the people made a mutual promise,
 the former that he would respect the laws, and
 reign according to what they prescribed; and the
 latter, that they would obey him provided he was
 faithful to his word. Though this was only a
 ceremony, it might be employed with advantage

to remind kings, as well as the people, of their reciprocal duties.

BITHYNIA.

Bithynia lies opposite to Constantinople, and begins at Chalcedon, the city of the blind, so called on account of its founders having placed it in Asia, on an ungrateful soil, and in a disagreeable situation, instead of having built it on the point of Europe where Constantinople stands, which is enriched with all those advantages refused to Chalcedon. The kingdom itself is fertile, and covered with opulent cities. Among these we distinguish at present Byrsa, which was the residence of the Ottoman emperors before they established themselves at Constantinople. The Penderachi of the Greeks, named by the Turks Eregri, on the Pontus Euxinus, still exhibits a city which is destitute neither of inhabitants nor trade; but it is very different from the ancient Heraclea, the ruins of which serve it as a foundation.

Heraclea, founded by the Boeotians, was a formidable maritime power. The kings and republics of Greece disputed with each other for its alliance. It sent fleets to assist that party in whose favour it wished victory to incline. We are told of a vessel that sailed from its ports having eight hundred rowers on each side, and twelve hundred soldiers; a number very small in comparison of the rowers. We shall leave seamen to determine the nature of

of this machine. The government of the city was republican in the hands of the nobility, but they were expelled by the people. Either owing to accident, or because it was believed at Heraclea, after the excesses committed against the nobility, that it could not be well defended against their fury but by a deserter of that order, the people recalled a nobleman, named Clearchus, whom they had before detested, and expelled on account of his bad qualities. Being invested by the populace with the supreme power, he treated all the rich as nobility, banished or put to death the greater part of them, and seized on their property. The neighbouring powers, to whom the wretched exiles applied for protection, armed against him. To defend himself, he obliged the wives and daughters of the fugitives to marry slaves, who when they became husbands, and possessed of property, became also firm defenders of the tyrant; for during a revolution there can be no obstinate defense without usurped property. All the nobility who fell into his hands were put to death, amidst the most dreadful torture. The people experienced his cruelty in their turn. He compelled all those whom he met to swallow hemlock, which he presented to them with his own hands, so that no person durst venture to go abroad without an antidote. The reader will learn with astonishment, that this monster reigned twelve years, at the end of which he was assassinated on

his tribunal by two resolute young men, who had been disciples of Plato.

It is very astonishing that the sovereign power should have been suffered to fall into the hands of Satyrus, his brother, who equalled him in cruelty; and it is no less remarkable that this man made of his two nephews, the sons of Clearchus, named Timotheus and Dionysius, two princes celebrated by their justice, their moderation, and many other valuable qualities. The first reigned fifteen years without the title of king; the second assumed it, and discharged all the duties attached to it. Dionysius, who was remarkably corpulent, fell, it is said, into a lethargy, from which it was impossible to rouse him, but by thrusting into his flesh large needles made for the purpose; but this remedy did not prolong his life beyond the age of fifty. The bad blood of Clearchus, suspended in his veins, began to circulate in those of his two sons, who put their mother to death. Lyfimachus, their father-in-law, freed the earth, however, from these monsters. He then rendered himself master of Heraclea; but the Heracleans, after begging him in a peaceable manner to lay aside the crown, as they found that he was not disposed to comply with their request, dethroned him, threw him into prison, and raised their citadel. After this they applied to Seleucus to protect them from the resentment of Lyfimachus; but, as that prince refused, they had recourse to

Mithridates, and at the same time, for the greater security, to the Romans. A war, however, having taken place between the king of Pontus and the republic, it was necessary to make a choice; and the fleet of Mithridates, carried by Archelaus into the port of the Heracleans, determined them which side to espouse. After the example of the ally, whom they preferred, they massacred all the Romans found in their territories. Triarius, the lieutenant-general of Cotta, punished Heraclea for this horrid act of perfidy, by demolishing it to the foundation. The senate blamed Cotta for having proceeded to this excess of vengeance. "We ordered you," said they, "to take Heraclea, and not to destroy it." They sent thither a Roman colony; but scarcely had it begun to be in a flourishing condition, when a king of Galatia, supported by Mark Antony, destroyed it again. This cruelty, however, did not long pass unpunished; as Octavianus dragged the destroyer in triumph, and afterwards put him to death. Heraclea, by this disaster, lost all its splendour, and remained a very moderate city under the dominion of the Romans.

Kings,
2713.

History assigns to Bithynia kings subject to the Medes and the Persians, from Ninus to Alexander. Bas overcame Calantus, a general of the Macedonian conqueror; remained fifty years on the throne, and left it to his son Zipætes, who died, it is said, of joy, on having gained a battle at

the age of seventy-six. Nicomedes, his son, had three brothers, two of whom he put to death; but the other, named Zibœas, cantoned his troops along the coast, and engaged the king of Syria to support him. Nicomedes called in the Gauls with the same view, and opened an entrance for them into Asia: with their assistance he indeed expelled his brother; but the Gauls established themselves in his place. Their small kingdom is called Galatia, or Gallo-Græcia.

The Galatians were sometimes troublesome Prusias neighbours to the kings of Bithynia. Having given occasion for suspicions to Zela, the grandson of the prince who introduced them into Asia, he assembled their chiefs under the pretence of a grand entertainment, with an intention of putting them to death; but having privately found out his design, they dispatched him at the beginning of the banquet. His son Prusias avenged this murder in a cruel manner, by carrying desolation into Galatia, where he spared neither age nor sex. This prince is chiefly known by his mean conduct towards the Romans. His name will be loaded with eternal opprobrium for having consented to deliver Hannibal into their hands; and the Romans participate in his ignominy for having demanded the Carthaginian, who eluded their pursuit by a voluntary death.

After the defeat of Perſes the Grecian ſtates ſent ambaffadors to Rome, to congratulate the re-

public on that event. Prusias went thither in person; and if it were not well attested by all historians, we should have difficulty to believe to what excess of adulation he descended. He caused his head to be shaved; assumed the cap which slaves wore after they had obtained their freedom; appeared in that dress in the forum; and said to the prætor, who was sitting there to administer justice, "You behold me in the dress of a freed-man, because I can consider myself only as one of your slaves, whom in the excess of your kindness you have restored to liberty." On entering the senate he threw himself prostrate, kissed the threshold of the door, and called the senators visible deities, his saviours, and deliverers. In a word, the king of Bithynia debased himself to such a degree, that notwithstanding the fondness for adulation with which the Roman assemblies have been so justly reproached, it appears that the senate was ashamed of his flatteries, since Livy, who is so careful to collect every thing that could do honour to the Romans, has concealed a part of them. It is rendering justice to the memory of Prusias to say, that his intellects were sometimes deranged. He was exceedingly ugly. Thinking to conceal his deformity, he disguised himself sometimes as a woman: the sure means of making his ugliness still more striking. Science, philosophy, and literature, suffered nothing in being neglected, and even despised, by a man of this character. He

was succeeded by Nicomedes II. a son worthy of such a father, as he besprinkled the steps of the throne with the blood of his brothers. It is said that he ascended to it over the body of his father, whom he had caused to be assassinated. If this be true it may be remarked, that his son Nicomedes III. served him in the same manner. The reputation of Nicomedes IV. has been tarnished by the too intimate connexion which he had with Julius Cæsar. This race ended with the fourth, and with him also the kingdom of Bithynia, which was incorporated with the republic.

COLCHIS.

Colchis, called at present Mingrelia, was peopled in the time of Sesostris by a colony of Egyptians; at least as is supposed, because the Colchians had a resemblance to the Egyptians by their brown curled hair, their language, and circumcision. But it appears that before this colony the country had inhabitants, who are said to have come from Armenia. Colchis sent us pheasants, so called from a small island in the river Phasis, where they were found in great quantity. Some of its rivers washed down, in their course, small scales of gold, which were caught in fleeces extended by the inhabitants at the bottom of the water; and this, no doubt, gave rise to the fable of the golden fleece. Commercial nations went thither to trade for these treasures: and hence the expedition of

Colchis between Iberia, the Pontus Euxinus, Armenia, Pontis, and Sarmatia.

the Argonauts, who were merchants, or freebooters, and perhaps both. The king's daughter having conceived a passion for Jason, their chief, smoothed every difficulty that stood in the way of their designs, whether robbery or commerce, and suffered herself to be carried off. Such appears to have been the real fact in regard to the history of this famous expedition. In more modern times Dioscourias was a city celebrated by its opulence and trade. It was much frequented by merchants from every part of the world. Pliny positively says, with the tone of a man who wishes to be believed, that three hundred different languages were spoken in this city; and that the merchants of Rome, who traded to Colchis, were obliged to have a hundred and thirty interpreters in Dioscourias. Mithridates had a son who was king of Colchis; and Pompey dragged another of its kings at his car in triumph. We find also a king of Colchis under Trajan. It was governed by the prætors of Bithynia and Pontus, but without being incorporated with these provinces.

IBERIA.

Iberia, between Colchis, Pontus, Caucasus, Albania, and Media.

Iberia is that part of Georgia which the Persians, to whom it belongs, call Gurgistan. It is as destitute of rivers as Colchis is full of them. The names of several tribes of its ancient inhabitants are still preserved. It is difficult to believe

that Spain, called by the ancients *Iberia*, derived its name from this Asiatic *Iberia*, and that the Argonauts transported thither a number of *Iberians*, sufficient to people that large country of Europe. The accounts given of the ancient inhabitants shew that they were a people worthy of esteem. They were divided into four classes—the nobility, priests, soldiers, and farmers. The king was taken from the first class, and was always the oldest relation of the deceased monarch. Age thus placed at the head of justice, and the army, a prince of the royal blood. The priests, besides the functions of their ministry, discharged those also of judges. The farmers were skilled in agriculture; the citizens were industrious; and the inhabitants of the mountains were somewhat savage and rude. This nation consisted of two kinds of people: one part by their want of civilization were like the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*; the other, those who resided in the plains, might, on account of the ease and dignity of their manners, be compared to the *Medes* and the *Armenians*. One of their kings, named *Artoces*, held out for some time against *Pompey*; but courage, badly directed, was at length obliged to give way to valour, assisted by discipline. The *Iberians*, though routed, would never surrender. They retired to a forest, and wounded the *Romans* with their arrows from the tops of trees; but the *Romans* set fire to them, and they all perished in the con-

flagration. The emperors long considered Iberia as a rampart against the invasion of the barbarians; and for this reason they supported its kings, as being more interested than small confederations in defending their states against every attack. The names of several of their princes, till the reign of Vespasian, have been preserved; but we are unacquainted with their actions.

ALBANIA.

Alb. nia,
between
Iberia, the
Caspian sea,
Caucasus,
and Arme-
nia.

The Persians, who are the present possessors of Albania, have called it the province of Shirvan. It is exceedingly fertile, and produces excellent wine. Its inhabitants lived, for a long time, in a state of simplicity highly extolled; but which approached near to stupidity, since they were incapable of counting above a hundred, and were unacquainted with weights and measures. It is said also that courage among them belonged exclusively to the women; because they were descended from the Amazons. But did not the blood of these female warriors flow also in the veins of the men? That bloom of health which shone forth in the faces of the women may be ascribed to the salubrity of the climate. The Albanians had a most profound respect for old age. We are told by ancient authors that, in this small district, there were twenty-six petty sovereignties, in each of which a different language was spoken; that a chief united these principalities, formed them into one king-

dom, and put an end to that multiplicity of languages which is hardly credible. One of its sovereigns, named Oræses, resisted Pompey. His army was commanded by his brother Cofis, whom the Roman general was not able to overcome but by stratagem; and Cofis, even though surprized, did not yield the victory but with his life. He perished by the hand of Pompey, during a close combat in the hottest of the battle. The kings of Albania were treated by the Eastern emperors with more or less kindness, according to circumstances; sometimes respected, and sometimes despised. This is all that we know of them from the imperfect accounts left us by historians. They, however, seem to shew that Albania had kings even under Justinian II.

The three kingdoms last mentioned, Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, form the most considerable part of Georgia. Some modern travellers give a most flattering description of the country, and extol the admirable purity of its air; the excellence of its fruits, the exquisite delicacy of its wines, and the beauty of its women. "The Georgian women," says Chardin, "are tall, and have a dignified air, their shape is not spoilt by corpulency, and their waists are exceedingly delicate." Tournefort says: "The Georgian women did not at all surprize me. I expected to see perfect beauties. They indeed are no ways disagreeable, and may even pass for beau-

“ties, if compared with the Curds.” This is but a poor panegyric. The two observers cannot be reconciled, but by saying that in Georgia, as everywhere else, some of the women are beautiful, some moderately so, and others ugly.

BOSPORUS.

Bosporus,
between
Colchis, the
Pontus
Euxinus,
and the
Tanais.

We cannot better point out the situation of the states of the Bosporian princes, than by saying that the Crimea was the centre of them. Setting out from that peninsula, and extending thence into the neighbouring countries, we shall sometimes comprehend in them the Palus Mæotis, and sometimes exclude it. This may serve to explain why the ancient authors have not offended against the truth, when some of them say that the kingdom of Bosporus was covered with forests and eternal fogs, and that the sun there never displayed his beneficent rays; others, that it was fertile, agreeable, well cultivated, and between the mountains interspersed with woods and delightful plains. The same diversity is found in the manners of the inhabitants; in one place mild, in another savage: in the accounts of their commerce; flourishing in one district, in another totally annihilated: in the topographic description of the country; ornamented with populous cities, placed close to scattered hamlets scarcely inhabited: and lastly, in the fragments of the history of their kings; weak and powerful, conquerors and subdued. It would ap-

pear that the fate of this country—passing in succession from the hands of its kings to the Romans; from the latter to the Thracians, the Scythians and the Sarmatians; from them to the Genoese, during the Crusades; from the Genoese to the Tartars; from the Tartars to the Turks; and from the Turks to the Russians—has been to experience continual changes.

Bosporus, at a very early period, was governed by kings; who were intimately connected with the Athenians. The chief bond of their union was commerce. The trade which these republicans had established in Bosporus was of so much value to them, that they consecrated the remembrance of it by religious monuments. Two of these kings made an annual present to Demosthenes of a thousand bushels of wheat. The Athenians believed, no doubt, when the orator, in his harangues, said any thing in favour of the commerce of Bosporus, that he spoke only with a view to the interest of his fellow-citizens. Such is the manner in which republics are conducted. In the fragments left us of the history of the kings of Bosporus, we find bloody wars; the people ruined, court intrigues, assassinations, and the massacre of whole families; but we find also sometimes princes of a good disposition, or who became good after having been bad, such as Eumelus, who caused his two brothers after they had revolted to be butchered, together with their children and friends.

The people, incensed by this barbarity, attempted to expel him from the throne; but he appeased them by freeing them from all taxes, and promising to govern them with moderation and justice, which he accordingly did. Such a king, it is said, never reigned over Bosporus.

The history of the Bosporian princes is lost in the troubles of the Roman empire on the fall of the republic. Each party had alternately in its army the kings of Bosporus with their troops. They acquired esteem by their valour, and often obtained high command on important occasions. We are told of an Afander, who held one of the first offices in the army of Augustus. The emperor, however, suspecting his fidelity, gave the command of the Bosporian troops in the Roman army to another, which so affected him that he soon after died of grief. He was ninety-three years of age.

MEDIA.

Media,
Atropatene.

We make mention of this Media rather as a singularity than as a kingdom. It was a part dismembered from the Great Media, which resisted the efforts of Alexander, and remained free under its ruler Atropatus, from whom it was called Media Atropatene. It maintained itself against the successors of Alexander. Gaza was its capital. This province, or small kingdom, had both land and marine forces. The possession of it was not a

matter of indifference to the neighbouring kings. The Parthians enjoyed it oftenest, and for the longest period. The kings of that country gave the crown to their youngest brothers.

BACTRIA.

Bactria, or Bactriana, at present Chorassan, has the honour of giving to the moral world the celebrated Zoroaster. It is very singular that a legislator, so pure, and so humane, should be born in a country where the women, both married and unmarried, were unacquainted with chastity; and where the inhabitants kept dogs, distinguished by the epithet of sepulchral, for the purpose of devouring those who lived too long. It was, perhaps, by the vicious disposition of the inhabitants, and their horrid practices filling the honest and sensible mind of Zoroaster with disgust, that he was formed to virtue. Good sometimes arises from an excess of evil. Extremes meet in the physical state of Bactria, as it is supposed they may have approached in the morals of the people. Some of its districts, watered by the Oxus, were remarkable for their fertility and productions. From these regions, where the eye is delighted by the beauty of the meads, where numerous herds are seen sporting in the plains, the traveller, advancing southwards, enters deserts which can be traversed only in the night-time by following

Bactria, between Margiana, the river Oxus, Asiatic Scythia, and the country of the Messagetæ.

the direction of the stars, at the risque of being buried under mountains of sand.

The Bactrians have at all times been warlike, and their kings turned this propensity of the people to their advantage. The first after Alexander was Theodotus, who from being governor became sovereign. He was dethroned by his brother Euthydemus; and the latter was succeeded, but without violence, by a third brother named Menander, who, because a conqueror, and because the honour which he acquired to his kingdom made the Bactrians blind to the horrors of war, was adored by his subjects. He was deeply regretted by them when he died; and as each city wished to have his body, to prevent all discord, the ashes were distributed among them. Each of them preserved the valuable remains in a monument, which attested both the merit of the monarch and the affection of the people. One of the succeeding princes was so imprudent as to entrust the government of the kingdom to his son, while he was absent on a distant expedition. This young prince, being accustomed to authority, could not behold the return of his father without displeasure, and therefore he caused him to be assassinated. But he derived very little advantage from his crime, which scattered the seeds of discord among his subjects. One party called in the Parthians, who put to death the parricide, and seized on Bac-

triana. From their hands it passed into those of the Scythians, then to the Huns, and afterwards to the Persians, who have it still in their possession.

EDESSA.

The kingdom of Edessa consisted of one city, and without doubt a territory of some extent, enriched and rendered famous by a temple dedicated to the Syrian goddess. The chiefs of this petty state, called sometimes kings and sometimes princes, were all named Abgarus. Pompey did not disdain to form an alliance with one of them, who assisted him by his services and advice, as well as by supplying him with provisions. The defection of an Abgarus occasioned a Roman army to be defeated by the Parthians. Trajan treated with great respect an Abgarus VI. a prince worthy of esteem on account of his virtues. Caracalla put an end to this small kingdom, by causing the last of these monarchs to be arrested and kept a prisoner at Rome. He reduced it to a Roman province.

Edessa in
Mesopotamia.

EMESA.

The first king of Emesa, situated in Syria on the banks of the Orontes, was an Arab, who established and preserved this small kingdom in consequence of the disunion of the Seleucidæ. Its monarchs were some of those petty princes whom the Romans honoured with their alliance when they had need of them, and whom they despised

Emesa in
Syria.

when their purposes were answered. The emperor Octavianus, however, did not so far despise one of the kings of Emesa, named Alexander, as to suffer him to enjoy his small monarchy in peace. He had been indebted for it to Anthony, and this was enough to induce Augustus to turn his arms against him. Augustus defeated him, and after leading him in triumph caused him to be put to death. The Emesians and the Jews were often in alliance. The Arabs possessed Emesa under the name of the Ituræans.

ADIABENE.

Adiabene
in Syria.

Adiabene is still a small kingdom, which was indebted for its origin to the fall of the Seleucidæ. One of its kings, named Monobazus, married his sister Helena, who brought him two sons, Monobazus, the eldest, and Izates. The king's whole affection was centred in Izates, the younger; and as this predilection occasioned a great deal of trouble at court, which was filled with many other sons of the monarch, he sent Izates to finish his education with a neighbouring prince. Finding himself advance in age, he was desirous to see Izates again before he died. When this beloved son arrived, his father, after the most tender reception, made him a present of a province perpetually perfumed with odoriferous plants, where he lived till his father's death. When the monarch had closed his eyes, his widow Helena assembled

the grantees of the kingdom, and said: "Izates has been chosen by his father to succeed him; but before he is proclaimed I am desirous to know your wishes, being fully persuaded that no prince can reign with tranquillity who has not the happiness of pleasing his subjects." On this speech they all threw themselves prostrate, and swore that they would make it a sacred duty to obey Izates. "Only give us orders, princess," added they, "if you dread any of the king's other children, we are ready to dispatch them." "Moderate your eagerness," replied the merciful Helena; "let no blood be shed but by the command of the new king." The nobility, however, demanded that these princes supposed to be dangerous might at least be placed under a trusty and sure guard; and they begged her to choose any one of her sons, whom she might think most animated with zeal and love for the good of the public, to govern till the new monarch should arrive. But will it be believed that Helena, after having manifested her attachment to Izates, named her eldest son Monobazus to the throne, giving him the crown, the sceptre, a ring, and the royal mantle, along with sovereign power. Monobazus, however, returned the whole to Izates as soon as he arrived. These two brothers lived with great unanimity, even in regard to religion. They both abjured the idolatry of their ancestors and embraced Judaism, after the example of their

mother Helena. Monobazus, instead of turning to advantage the troubles occasioned in the kingdom by this change of religion, assisted Izates to allay them. The king, therefore, at his death, though he had children, left the crown to his brother, who was not able to transmit it to his nephews, because they were carried by Titus to Rome after the taking of Jerusalem, where their grandmother had educated them in the Jewish religion. It is not known whether they ever returned to their own country. We find some kings of their race, or at least of the same name, till the reign of Sapor II. king of Persia, who made himself master of Adiabene.

ELYMAIS.

Elymais was divided into three provinces. The origin of this kingdom is as old as the decline of the Persian empire. Its inhabitants were excellent warriors, celebrated for their dexterity in discharging arrows. Neither the Parthians nor the Syro-Macedonians were able to subdue them. They were always governed by native princes, who are known only by their names inserted in treaties made with other monarchs. Scarcely should we have been acquainted with the Elymæans themselves, had they not possessed temples of great opulence, which tempted the avarice of various princes. A king of the Parthians carried away from them great riches; but Antiochus Epiphanes

Elymais,
between
Media
and the
Persian
Gulph.

was repulsed from one of the temples of Diana, Antiochus the Great from one dedicated to Jupiter, and the sacrilegious plunderers experienced shameful defeats.

CHARACENE.

The small kingdom of Characene, which did not extend beyond the city of Chorax, was founded by the Arabs. It was at first called Alexandria, from the name of its founder, and afterwards Antioch, because it had been repaired by Antiochus. It got the name of Chorax, that is, the Mole, from an Arabian king having secured it, as well as the whole country, from the inundations of the Tigris by a mole a league and a half in length. Its three names, therefore, are all expressive of benefits. Of the only two kings of Characene with whom we are acquainted, one lived eighty-five, and the other ninety-five years.

Characene, on the Persian Gulph, between the Tigris and the Eulæus.

COMAGENE.

After two kings, posterior to the time of Pompey—for before that period none are mentioned in history—Antiochus II. who attained to the throne with the consent of Augustus, left the crown under Tiberius without a master. The people wished to be governed by a king, and the nobility by a Roman magistrate. The motives for this difference of opinion may be readily conceived. The people, when not blinded by prejudice, must see their tranquillity in the authority of one chief, who may be able to prevent the oppression of the

Comagene in Syria.

great; and the latter prefer the representative of a distant power which they govern, and in which they participate. The opinion of the nobility prevailed, but their triumph was not of long duration. Caligula restored the kingly government in Comagene, which under Vespasian was reduced into the form of a Roman province.

CHALCIDENE.

Chalcidene,
at the foot
of Mount
Lebanon.

The capital of the small kingdom of Chalcidony was Chalcis, the position of which often rendered it the theatre of the wars between the kings of Syria, Damascus, Cœlesyria, Judea, and Egypt. One of its kings, named Ptolemy, entrusted his son Philippion to escort to him Alexandria, the daughter of Aristobulus king of the Jews, a princess of great beauty, of whom he was enamoured; but the son having as good a taste as his father, married her by the way. We find between Lyfias his successor, and Pacorus king of the Parthians, a treaty which contains this singular clause, that the Parthian was to furnish him with troops against a king of Judea, on his giving him a large sum of money, and five hundred women.

JEWES.

Return
from the
Babylonish
captivity,
2463.

The intercourse which several of these petty kingdoms had with the Jews, leads us back to these people. The seventy years' captivity announced by the prophet Jeremiah having elapsed, it pleased God to raise to the throne of Persia the

famous Cyrus. The first year of his reign he published an edict, in consequence of which the Jews were permitted to return to Judea. Some of them had the address or industry to obtain riches, and even to rise from a state of slavery to offices of dignity. It was not these, therefore, who were anxious to quit those places where they had formed for themselves a new country, but the poorer classes with a few zealots, the number of whom is estimated at about seventy thousand. It would have been impossible for the greater part of them to undertake the journey, had they not been assisted by the charitable contributions of their countrymen, who remained in Babylon, and different parts of the Assyrian empire, where they had been sold as slaves.

The sacred utensils, which had been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus caused to be restored to Zerubbabel, a prince of the blood royal, whom, together with Joshua, he placed at the head of the colony. These chiefs collected as many as they could of the priests, levites, singers, and other officers of the temple, which they were authorized to rebuild. The dimensions of it were settled by Cyrus. This was the first work which engaged the attention of the Jews after their return; but they found themselves interrupted in their design by the Samaritans, who had offered to assist them. Either from jealousy or contempt the Jews refused their aid, and from that moment

the Samaritans resumed their former sentiments of enmity, which they before seemed desirous of abjuring. They succeeded in causing the work to be suspended by authority for several years; but it was again begun by the order of Darius, and carried to such a state of advancement as allowed of its being solemnly dedicated.

Ezra, 2541.

Esther, raised to the throne of Ahasuerus, became to the Jews a protection, from which they derived great advantages. By her influence the administration of the body assembled in Judea was entrusted to Ezra of the family of Aaron, a man equally zealous as learned. He set out for Jerusalem with a new company, and money arising from the donations sent by the rich to their indigent brethren. Ezra applied himself chiefly to those things which regarded religion. He restored the Jewish doctrine to its primitive state, made an accurate copy of the sacred books, and corrected the liturgy. An important deviation from the law attracted also his attention. Many of the Jews, even priests and levites, having contracted marriages with foreigners, Ezra obliged them to promise an oath, that they would send away not only their wives but also their children.

Nehemiah,
2554.

Notwithstanding the favours of the Persian monarch, the Jewish colony did not prosper as had been expected. It appears that Ezra was a man more calculated for religious affairs than affairs of state. Nehemiah, cup-bearer of the king of

Persia, a Jew distinguished by his talents and virtue, became much interested in the success of the re-establishment of his brethren. He procured leave to go to Judea; and set out, not as his predecessor, with a timid and indigent company, but with a good escort, and very extensive powers, in order to restore the police, and to remove every obstacle that malevolence or jealousy might throw in the way of his designs. His first measure was to restore the walls of Jerusalem. He engaged those most distinguished by their birth, or their riches, to build houses in the city; and when he had assembled them, he announced a public reading of the law. Ezra assumed this task himself, and explained it verse by verse. The people melted into tears of repentance for their past transgressions; and Nehemiah took advantage of this disposition to make them enter into a solemn engagement respecting three important points: 1. Not to contract marriages with idolaters, and to consent to the dissolution of those which already existed. 2. To observe the sabbaths every seventh day, as well as every seventh year. 3. To pay with punctuality the tribute to the temple, for the reparation of the building, and the support of its ministers.

Nehemiah was obliged by the duties of his office to return to Persia, and the people finding him no longer present forgot their engagements. The servile complacency of the high-priest suffered

strangers to be introduced into the interior parts of the temple, and to lodge in it; and the magistrates allowed trade and commerce to be carried on on the sabbath-day. The people ceased paying tribute to the temple, and tythes to the levites. The sacrifices were interrupted. Five years' absence produced all these disorders. Nehemiah, however, returned, and by his firmness, mild conduct, example, and exhortations, brought the people back to their civil and religious duties. We do not know how long the government of this virtuous man continued. He was exceedingly rich, and possessed an immense private fortune, since he admitted every day to his table a hundred and fifty of the chief men of the nation, besides foreigners of distinction, who came to Jerusalem. Yet he never touched any of the salary or perquisites attached to his office as governor. After him it was abolished, and the power passed entirely into the hands of the high-priests, or those who presided over the sacrifices. We may ascribe the misfortunes with which the Jews after that period were oppressed to those who aspired at that high dignity.

High-
priests.
2016.

It would be difficult to give interest to those intrigues by which they were raised to the pontifical chair, and driven from it. We always find one ambitious man, either alone or assisted by his family, wresting the tiara from another, and placing it upon his own head. For whole cen-

turies this was the chief object on which every mind was employed, and which engaged public attention. The candidates purchased the high-priesthood from the Syrian governors, retained it by the force of money, and oppressed the people, in order that they might fulfil their pecuniary engagements. There was no energy among these degraded people; no dignity among the great; no foresight, no thought of pursuing proper measures against foreign invaders; and consequently terror and consternation prevailed on the least alarm. Amidst this uniformity of events, destitute of splendour or greatness, it would be difficult, as already observed, to find any of those striking incidents which form as it were the soul of history, and render it agreeable.

Johanan, the first of these priests who became sovereigns, fought with his brother even in the temple, because he had made interest with Bagoses, the governor of Phœnicia, in order that he might succeed him. Having knocked his brother down, Bagoses, who was informed of the accident, ran to separate them. The blow proved mortal, and the people attempted to prevent Bagoses from entering the temple, lest it should be prophaned. Bagoses, however, forced the gates, and said: "Am I more impure than the carcase extended at my feet?" As corporal punishment inflicted on the murderer would have pro-

duced him nothing, he subjected him to a heavy fine.

Jaddua.
2648.

The interview between the high-priest Jaddua and Alexander was attended with some remarkable circumstances. The conqueror had come to Jerusalem, highly incensed against the Jews, because they refused to supply his troops with provisions during the siege of Tyre. As it was impossible for them to defend themselves against a triumphant army, commanded by such a chief, Jaddua ordered the people to dress themselves in white, and placing himself at their head, in his sacerdotal robes, accompanied by the other priests, habited in the like manner, they all went in procession to meet Alexander. The conqueror of Asia was much struck with this religious pomp. He approached the high-priest with respect, and inclined his body before him with veneration. His courtiers having expressed their astonishment at this submission; "It is not," said he, "the high-priest whom I adore, but that God whose minister he is. I now recognize the minister, whom the same God shewed me in a dream, to encourage me to the conquest of Persia." The high-priest declared that this suppliant procession had been prescribed to him in a dream also; and Alexander, on his side, assigned a divine cause for his clemency. All this may be explained without any miracle. We know by the journey

which Alexander undertook to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, that he was fond of inspiring a belief of his being protected by the deity. It was the interest of the high-priest also to diffuse an opinion calculated to give confidence to the people, and which might induce the conqueror to entertain favourable sentiments towards a nation who were under the protection of God. The Jews shewed to Alexander those prophecies which announced his victories. He admired the temple, and offered up sacrifice in it. During his whole reign the Jews enjoyed great tranquillity. He invited a great number of them to Alexandria, his new city, and gave them great privileges.

The strictness of the Jews in observing the sabbath, occasioned Jerusalem to be taken by Ptolemy. Knowing that they were determined not to defend themselves on that day, he appeared before the city, and entered it without the least resistance. He carried with him to Egypt a hundred thousand prisoners. The immense number of people taken from Judea on different occasions is astonishing. We have no instance in history of any other people always destroyed in the same manner, and yet always reviving.

We might class together the adventure of Heliodorus. Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt, and that of Heliodorus, the envoy of a governor of Syria, already mentioned; but which re-appears here with new circumstances. Ptolemy, struck with

the august majesty of the Jewish ceremonies, thought he should behold more if he entered the interior part of the temple, which was accessible only to the priests. He attempted, therefore, to force his way thither ; but being repulsed by a divine power, he was so overcome by terror, that his servants were obliged to carry him out of the temple. Heliodorus, who came with a more criminal design, experienced worse treatment. He had been dispatched by the governor of Syria for the purpose of carrying away immense treasures, which Simon, a mortal enemy of Onias, the high-priest, had told him were concealed in the temple. In vain did the high-priest represent to him the danger of his enterprize : he entered boldly, at the head of a body of Syrians ; but they were instantly seized with a sudden terror, and all dropped down. Heliodorus, the most criminal of the whole, was so dreadfully beat by a man on horse-back, surrounded by a blaze of light, that it was a long time before he recovered. The king of Syria, when he heard of this adventure, imagined that Heliodorus had exaggerated in regard to his treatment, and being still tempted with the idea of these pretended treasures, he endeavoured to find some person in whom he could confide to send in quest of them. “ If there is any one “ whom you wish to punish,” said Heliodorus to him, “ dispatch him on this mission ; and you “ may rest assured that he will return in such a

“state as not to leave you in any doubt respecting the protection which God grants to his temple.”

The hatred of Simon and Onias was exceedingly fatal to the Jews. It gave rise in Jerusalem to factions, some of which endeavoured to procure support from the governors of Syria, and others from the courtiers and counsellors of the king. Some of the rivals assassinated each other; and some ruined themselves by the exorbitant price they gave for the dignity at which they aspired. The high-priesthood fell to the lot of the highest bidder; and it was even seen in the hands of a man who was not a Jew. The people were divided between the candidates; the city besieged the citadel, and the contending chiefs were two brothers alternately conquerors and conquered. They were not sparing of punishment: those who opposed them were subjected to torture and death. Antiochus, who was called in by one of the parties, came to fill up the measure of these horrid events. He took the city in three days; sold forty thousand Jews to the neighbouring nations; and carried away from the temple the vases and ornaments of silver. Being inspired with a sort of fury against these unfortunate people, he inflicted on them a humiliating punishment, which they had suffered in Egypt from the Romans. “Go,” said he to Apollonius, one of his generals, “plunder their cities, put the men to the sword, and

“sell the women and children.” This cruel order was strictly carried into execution, especially at Jerusalem. Apollonius waited for the sabbath-day, when the Jews were accustomed to assemble, but on which it was unlawful for them to make any defense, and let loose his soldiers on the unarmed multitude. After the massacre the city was given up to pillage. The Syrians destroyed the most beautiful edifices, and with their ruins built on an eminence in the city of David a fortress, which commanded the temple.

Persecution.

The sacrifices then ceased. These, unfortunately, were all that remained of their religion, among a people divided by their high-priests, embarrassed in their choice, a prey to schism, and whose affection was alienated by the oppression of their chiefs. Scarcely did there exist any external signs of worship; even circumcision was neglected: but amidst this almost general indifference there were still some men sincerely attached to their religion, whose admonitions and example rekindled the sacred flame of zeal which had been almost extinguished.

This zeal burst forth on account of an edict of Antiochus, which forbade any other gods than his own to be worshipped in his states. The governors of Judea, in particular, had orders to put this edict in execution with the most inflexible severity. Atheneas, the minister of Antiochus, being dispatched to Jerusalem, dedicated the tem-

ple to Jupiter Olympias, and caused the statue of that deity to be erected on the altar of burnt-offerings. Those who wished to sacrifice were carried thither; and if they refused, they were immediately massacred, or condemned to perish amidst lingering torments. All Judea became the theatre of pagan idolatry; and the observance of the sabbath and circumcision was forbidden, under the severest penalties. The rigor of this prohibition was extended to those women who circumcised the children whom they brought forth. These unfortunate mothers were led through the streets of Jerusalem, with their children hung about their necks, and afterwards thrown headlong from the summit of the walls. Those even who had merely been present at the ceremony of circumcision were put to death.

The barbarous Athenias surprized in a cavern a numerous company who had assembled there to celebrate the sabbath. After having, in vain, offered them an amnesty, if they would abjure their religion, he waited for the sabbath-day, when men, women, and children, were all put to the sword without making the least resistance. His officers destroyed all the sacred books which they could find, and every Jew convicted of having concealed any of them was put to death. Among those whose heroic constancy was crowned by martyrdom we must distinguish the venerable Eleazer. Having refused to eat swines' flesh, his

executioners begged that out of regard to his extreme old age he would consent to eat some other unforbidden flesh, in order that they might make the king believe that he had obeyed his command. The virtuous old man, however, replied that he would prefer the most cruel death to that base dissimulation, which might be imitated by others; and he submitted to punishment with firmness and resignation. A woman also triumphed over the fury of Antiochus himself. As she had seven children, all named Maccabees, the barbarian thought he could humble her by consigning them all to punishment in succession before her eyes. But this courageous mother had the resolution to exhort them one after the other to submit to their fate, and expired herself after them under the hands of the executioner.

Mattathias.

It was not at Jerusalem alone that persecution exercised its severity. Several families of distinction, who had fled from that unfortunate city, were followed by the king's emissaries, and tormented even in the retreats to which they had retired for shelter. Apelles, one of these envoys of Antiochus, having arrived in a small city, called Modin, to which a priest, named Mattathias, had retired with his family, he assembled the people to communicate to them the orders of his master. Flattering himself with the hope that the example of Mattathias and his five sons would make a successful impression on the multitude, he endea-

voured to seduce him and his sons by the most dazzling promises ; but the virtuous father replied in a tone sufficiently elevated to be heard by the assembly : “ If the whole nation, and even the whole universe, should obey the king, I and my five sons will remain faithful to God till our latest breath.” As he concluded these words, a Jew advanced to sacrifice to an idol ; but Mattathias, filled with grief, and recollecting what was commanded by the law of Moses in the like cases, rushed upon the apostate, and put him to death. His sons then stabbed the king’s officer, overturned the altar and the idols, and running through the city, cried out : “ Let those who are zealous for the law of God follow us.” They afterwards fled to the desert, and were joined by a great many Jews who wished to escape persecution. In a little time Mattathias found himself at the head of a small army, and ventured to appear in the field. He had taken care to consult the doctors of the law, in regard to resting on the sabbath-day, the too rigid observance of which had often cost so dear to the Jews. They replied that it was lawful on that day to take up arms for self-defense ; and this decision being privately communicated to the people, acquired the force of a law. Mattathias, however, only entered the career of glory, which he opened to his sons, named Maccabees, who pursued it with honour to themselves and to their country.

Maccabees,
2833.

Judas Maccabeus, the eldest, assumed the command in consequence of his father's choice. His first exploits might be considered as rash, were it not necessary at the commencement of a revolution to astonish by acts of prowess. Three victories, obtained with troops far inferior in number to the Syrians, opened for him the gates of Jerusalem. He gave the necessary repairs to the temple, and re-established divine worship in it as before. As the citadel was defended by a strong garrison, so that he could not attempt to besiege it, he contented himself with fortifying the temple, in order to secure it from every attack. Such splendid success excited a great many enemies to the Jews. They were intermixed in their own country with a collection of people from different nations, who had been introduced into it during the captivity, and who did not behold with a favourable eye the return of the ancient possessors. The Syrians excited these foreigners against the children of Israel. They were attacked on every side, and the war was carried on with all the fury and all the horrors of civil discord; but Judas being always conqueror, obliged Lysias, the principal commander of the king of Syria, to sue for peace. It was concluded at the end of three years by the intercession of the Romans, whose alliance the Jewish general had found means to secure. But the other Syrian chiefs did not think themselves obliged to put an end

to hostilities : they not only continued the war themselves, but by the Arabs and other neighbouring nations, whom they prevailed on to take up arms. Judas, however, still remained conqueror.

As the citadel of Jerusalem was still in the hands of the Syrians, Judas made preparations for attacking it. This design being known at the court of Syria, a formidable army, commanded by the king in person, began its march for Judea. The Jewish general with a very inferior force rendered this great army useless for the principal design of the Syrian monarch, which was to impose on Judea a yoke so ponderous, that the people should never be able to shake it off. By a treaty of peace Judas obtained a promise that the Jews were never to be molested on account of their religion, yet he could not refuse to receive the king of Syria in Jerusalem. The monarch's pretence for entering it was curiosity ; but when he had once got within the walls he shewed so little regard to probity, that he caused them to be dismantled. He left in it, as commandant, Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, and gave the dignity of high-priest to Alcimus, who was indeed of the sacerdotal dignity, but as dangerous by his artful disposition as contemptible by his vices.

These two men had an equal interest in getting rid of Judas : the commandant, in order that he might remove every obstacle to his power ; and

the high-priest, that he might find no opposition to his rapine. They concerted therefore together, and laid snares for the brave and virtuous Judas ; but he found means to avoid them. His greatest enemies were apostate Jews, all united under Alcimus, who was an apostate himself. Judas wished the people to hold no intercourse with the deserters of the law of God, and even to carry on a war of extermination against them ; but he was not able to make the chiefs of his party adopt the same opinion. They were persuaded that by mildness and proper treatment the faction of Alcimus might be insensibly brought back to their duty. This the high-priest, indeed, apprehended, and therefore he set out for Syria, with a design to incense the king against Judas, whose disposition and influence he endeavoured to make appear as highly formidable. The calumniator obtained an army, commanded by Nicanor, who had always declared himself an enemy to the Jews ; and it was recommended to him not to omit any means that were likely to secure Maccabeus.

Nicanor thought proper to prefer stratagem to force. He repaired, therefore, to Jerusalem, to have an interview with Judas, and to remove every suspicion he dismissed part of his troops. The Jew, however, amidst all the complacency of the Syrian, could easily discover his perfidious intentions ; and in order to avoid them he betook himself to flight. Nicanor was highly incensed

by this wise precaution, and in the depth of his despair gave vent to imprecations against the whole nation, and even blasphemed God himself. This fury convinced the faithful Jews how much they had erred in not pursuing those hostile measures which Judas had advised. They assembled around him, and even in sufficient number to enable him to give battle to Nicanor. The Syrian was defeated and killed, and Judas returned to Jerusalem. He took advantage of an interval of peace to strengthen the alliance which the Jews had already entered into with the Romans. The senate caused the decree by which it was confirmed to be engraven on a plate of brass, and forbade Demetrius, king of Syria, to make any attempts against the Jewish nation. But Demetrius, notwithstanding this prohibition, on a request made by Alcimus, sent a new army, under the command of Bacchides, to avenge the defeat of Nicanor. Judas was obliged to abandon Jerusalem, and Bacchides pursued him. The Jews, intimidated by the great number of the enemy, though they were well acquainted with the intrepidity of their chief, shewed a repugnance to combat. Judas, however, reanimated their courage, and falling upon the Syrians, defeated their right wing, but he was surrounded by the left, and died in the arms of victory. Thus fell the brave defender of Israel.

He had a worthy successor in his brother Jo-
Jonathan,
2539.

nathan, who found himself in more favourable circumstances, and knew how to turn them to advantage. At this period the Seleucidæ, on account of their quarrels with each other, and with the kings of Egypt, their allies, their relations, and their enemies, were beginning to decline. Favoured by this misunderstanding, Jonathan established a respectable power, which made his friendship be courted by the different parties. From a very small commencement he rose to this high degree of elevation. The Jews who had escaped the sword of the Syrians, after the death of Judas, united around his brother. At first they were few in number, but having gained the desert, they soon increased, and maintained themselves by the plunder which they took from their neighbours, who were almost all renegado Jews, or pagans. Bacchides being informed of the success of this troop, marched against them. Jonathan had the courage to wait for him, but his boldness was not attended with success. He was defeated by Bacchides, and obliged to take shelter in the desert. After this victory the Syrian general finding no farther obstacles to his views, placed garrisons in the principal cities of Judea, and ruled without opposition. Alcimus also fortified himself in Jerusalem, and shut up in the citadel the children of the principal Jews, attached to Jonathan, that they might serve as hostages. Not contented with this precaution he endeavoured, in concert

with Bacchides, to get Jonathan into his possession; but he escaped the snares laid for him. The fury of his enemies increased the number of his partisans. He attempted once more the fate of arms, and was conqueror. The Jewish general took advantage of the moment of victory, to propose peace to the Syrian. The terms were accepted, and the treaty was confirmed by a mutual oath. It appears that Jonathan, in consequence of this treaty, was invested with a part of the royal authority. He governed Judea in the manner of the ancient judges; and bestowed his whole care on reforming the religious worship and the administration of the state.

The princes who were disputing for the empire of Syria, knowing of how much importance it was for them to secure the friendship of Jonathan, in order that they might retain some authority in Judea, vied with each other in conferring upon him marks of honour and confidence. Demetrius restored to him the hostages confined in the citadel of Jerusalem; and he wrote to him, at the same time, as to a friend and an ally. In his letter he gave him permission to raise troops, and to fabricate arms. Alexander Balas, his competitor, went still farther; as he conferred on him the dignity of high-priest, and accompanied this favour with a gold crown, a purple robe, and other valuable presents. Jonathan, without refusing to accept Alexander's mark of beneficence, wished, how-

ever, to hold the priesthood by the choice of the people, and got himself elected by them to that dignity. Demetrius made another attempt to gain the friendship of Jonathan; but the high-priest remained faithful to Alexander. The latter testified his gratitude by reposing in him full confidence, and by giving him a complete victory over those who envied his power, and brought complaints against him, to which the king of Syria refused to listen. Jonathan, in the war between Demetrius and Alexander, declared himself against Apollonius, who had been appointed governor of Palestine by Demetrius, and routed his army. Alexander, in return for this service, sent him a gold buckle or clasp, such as that usually worn by the princes of the royal family. To this valuable present he added others more solid, such as a district of land, and exemption from the tribute which had been before imposed on the Jews. Alexander's son made Simon, Jonathan's brother, commander in chief of all the forces of Judea.

Under the government of the two brothers it became, as we may say, a preponderating power. Rome renewed her alliance with it; and a like alliance was solicited by Sparta. The kings of Egypt did not think they purchased it too dear by entrusting to the Jews the care of their most important fortresses, and conferring on them various honourable offices, both at court and in the provinces. So many relations with that kingdom,

could not leave the Jewish general indifferent in regard to the events which took place in it. He contributed a great deal towards the peace between Ptolemy Tryphon and his brother; but that prince, whose infamous character is well known, fearing he should find in this brave general an obstacle to the new acts of perfidy which he was meditating, enticed him to Ptolemais, where he caused him to be loaded with irons. He afterwards sent word to Simon, that he kept his brother prisoner only because he owed him a hundred talents; and if he would send him that sum, and Jonathan's two sons as hostages, he would set the father at liberty. The credulous Simon dispatched the money and the hostages; but the treacherous monarch had no sooner received the money, than he put to death the father and the children.

Jonathan had governed Judea with great wisdom; and was succeeded by his brother, now pretty far advanced in life. By a decree of the sanhedrim, he was declared prince and high-priest of the Jews. The same decree rendered these dignities hereditary in his family. He indeed held a distinguished rank among the princes of his time, by the services which he rendered to the Jewish nation. He delivered it from the foreign garrisons, who still kept possession of some important places; and Jerusalem was indebted to him for new splendour. A Syrian nobleman, who had been sent to him on an embassy, ad-

Simon,
2856.

mired the elegance of his house, the furniture of which consisted almost entirely of gold and silver. His troops, which were numerous and well disciplined, were commanded by his three sons, the glory and ornament of his old age. He had the satisfaction, so gratifying to a father, of seeing them crowned with the laurels of victory; but, while he enjoyed a happiness so worthy of envy, a monster in his own family proved the means of his destruction. He had married one of his daughters to a man named Ptolemy, who not contented with the government of Jericho and the neighbouring district, conferred on him by his father-in-law, where he had amassed great riches, conceived a plan of rendering himself master of all Judea. Under the pretence of an entertainment, he enticed Simon and his two sons into a fortress, where he caused them to be assassinated. John, surnamed Hyrcan, the third son, who had been invited also to this fatal entertainment, was not able to attend. Ptolemy, therefore, sent messengers to arrest him; but being forewarned in time, he escaped. The murderer did not derive from his crime that advantage which he expected. He hastened to Jerusalem, in order that he might get possession of it; but while he was endeavouring to enter at one gate, Hyrcan appeared at the other, and being admitted in preference, was proclaimed prince and sovereign pontiff, in the same manner as his father.

Ptolemy, disappointed in his hopes, called in the

assistance of Antiochus, who laid siege to Jerusalem, and reduced it to a dreadful state by famine. This extremity obliged Hyrcan to accept the conditions which the conqueror was pleased to offer; and which were, the payment of a large sum of money, and the destruction of the fortifications of the city. The parricide Ptolemy had no influence in regard to the treaty, as he had betaken himself to flight. We do not know in what manner he was punished for his crime. Hyrcan, either through force or gratitude, accompanied Antiochus on an expedition which he undertook against the Parthians. The troubles that followed, and in which Antiochus was killed, afforded the high-priest of the Jews an opportunity to shake off for ever the yoke of the Syrian monarchs. He even made an incursion into that country; and enlarged his dominions, not only in that quarter, but also towards Arabia and Phœnicia. Hyrcan then turned his arms against the Samaritans, who were troublesome neighbours, and having totally ruined Samaria, destroyed the temple which its inhabitants had built on Mount Garizzim. His reign was no less remarkable by his wisdom than his exploits. Under his government religion was re-established in its full purity; he gave an example of assiduity, in regard to the sacred ceremonies; and the temple, which he enriched, acquired by his care new splendour. He strengthened it also by fortifications, and rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem. He

carefully cultivated the alliance of the Romans; and left his states in a flourishing condition to his son Aristobulus.

Aristobulus, 2892. This prince did what his ancestors never ventured to do:—he assumed the title of king; but

he bore the crown only for a year, and stained it with the blood of his mother, and one of his sons. If any excuse could be allowed for these crimes, it might be said that he committed them at the instigation of his wife. We might add, to diminish the indignation which they excite, that sorrow for his past conduct destroyed his health, and threw him into violent convulsions, which ended in death. He left three brothers, one of whom, named Alexander, ascended the throne. The youngest brother of this prince having given him some cause of suspicion, he put him to death; but the youngest, named Antigonus, whose whole ambition was confined to a quiet and inoffensive life, was treated with friendship.

Alexander,
Pharisees.
Sadducees.
2894.

When a religion which has been long established in a nation begins to experience any shock, there necessarily arises a diversity of opinions respecting the greater or less relaxation which ought be admitted, either in regard to its precepts or external practices. The persecutions of the kings of Syria had, on the one hand, made zealots, and, on the other, induced several persons to examine how far it might be lawful for the Jews to carry their deference for the ordinances and prohibitions of the

Syrian monarchs, without offending in an essential manner against the Jewish religion. Some declared that it was allowable on no pretence whatever to admit of the least relaxation in regard to the rigor, even of the liturgic commands; and when it was represented that this severity was not prescribed in the text of Moses, they opposed oral traditions, to which they gave the same authority as to the sacred books. Others said that it was not offending against religion, to free themselves, by some relaxation, from oppression and ruin: and rejecting traditions, as arbitrary and dangerous, they adhered to the text, the brevity of which authorized them to give a favourable interpretation of it. The former were people of austere manners, the effect of their disposition, which made them ready to sacrifice their property, their peace, and their lives, rather than suffer the least deviation even from the letter of the law. By this severity they obtained the esteem and veneration of the people. The opinion of the latter was calculated to please the great, who, accustomed to enjoyments, readily adopted the means which might perpetuate them by silencing their scruples. The latter were called sadducees, and the former pharisees. We do not exactly know whence these names have been derived; but it is not improbable that they were those of some doctors.

The pharisees are reproached with pride, and intolerance in regard to those who did not enter-

tain the same opinion as themselves, and above all, in regard to the sadducees. There was this difference in the doctrine of these two sects, that the pharisees believed in the immortality of the soul, the resurrection, and future rewards. The sadducees seemed more than indifferent respecting these articles of faith, and especially in practice. They thought of nothing but the good things of this life; and they may be considered as the epicureans of judaism. Besides this difference of principles, a too common source of animosity, we may ascribe that of the pharisees towards the sadducees to the envy excited by the enjoyment of others in the minds of those who submit to mortification: an impetuous passion, the impulse of which the rigorists sometimes follow without being sensible of it. They imagine themselves filled with zeal, and are filled only with jealousy. Jonathan thought he could gain them over to his party, by flattering their pride; and he was so condescending as to consult them respecting his conduct. "Tell me candidly," said he to the principal chiefs whom he had assembled, "if you have any thing to reproach me with in regard to my manner of governing, because I am resolved to observe with the utmost strictness the laws of God and your maxims." The whole assembly extolled his valour, his zeal, and his piety. One of them, however, named Eleazar, when it came to his turn to speak, said bluntly, "If you are

“ desirous to merit the praise with which you
“ have been just now honoured, you ought im-
“ mediately to abdicate the high-priesthood, and
“ to content yourself with the civil authority.”

This audacity, which was not sufficiently disapproved by the rest, made Jonathan acquainted with the spirit of the whole sect. He avenged himself by openly favouring the sadducees: but a punishment more severe might, perhaps, have saved his son Alexander from that uneasiness and vexation occasioned to him by the pharisees.

It is not improbable that the desire which they had manifested to Jonathan of confining him to the civil authority, and of appointing a high-priest from their own sect, was revived when they beheld on the throne a prince whose power was not sufficiently established, to be formidable like that of his father. They privately endeavoured to ruin him in the minds of the people; and the contempt they inspired was openly manifested at the feast of tabernacles. On that occasion the people carried in their hands branches of the palm, citron, and other trees; and, at the moment when the priest was about to offer up sacrifice, he found himself pelted on all sides with the fruit of these branches, and insulted by bitter invectives and the most opprobrious language. This affront did not remain unavenged. The high-priest being filled with indignation, gave orders to his soldiers to fall upon the guilty, six thousand of whom, it is

said, were massacred: the remainder escaped. After that time Alexander had always in his pay six thousand foreigners. This first rebellion degenerated into a civil war, which continued six years, and cost the lives of more than sixty thousand rebels, without reckoning the loss which the king sustained, on his part, and the calamities into which it involved Judea. Alexander, though conqueror, did every thing in his power to calm the minds of the people; but as he had to do with ignorant men, excited by a haughty and vindictive sect, the advances he made only served to give them more boldness. He humbled himself so far as to say that he would grant whatever they thought proper, provided they would be satisfied. "Let him cut his own throat," said they, "this is the least he can do, after having subjected the nation to so many evils."

After this, the king gave over all thoughts of accommodation; and the rebels being hard pressed, called in Demetrius to their assistance. Alexander was defeated; but his loss was either inconsiderable, or speedily repaired, since he soon found himself in a condition to come to a second engagement, the issue of which was in his favour. The rebels, whom Demetrius had previously quitted, sustained a prodigious loss. The principal chiefs retired from the field of battle to the fortress of Bethome, where they were besieged by the king; who, after taking the place, gave free vent to his

vengeance. Eight hundred were sent to Jerusalem, and crucified in one spot on the same day. This punishment not being sufficient to gratify his vengeance, he ordered the wives and children of the expiring wretches to be butchered before their eyes.

This dreadful execution ensured tranquillity to him during the rest of his reign; but did not change the disposition of the people. The precautions which he thought himself obliged to take when he died, are a proof of it. "When I am dead," said he to Alexandra, his wife, "send for the pharisees, shew them my body, and tell them that you will give it up to them that they may deprive it of sepulchral honour, in order to avenge the evils which I have done to them. Assure them that you are resolved to follow their counsels in the government of the kingdom; and you may rest satisfied that, instead of dishonouring my memory, they will be eager to celebrate my funeral, and that you will reign with full authority." Alexander was well acquainted with this haughty sect. What he had predicted, took place. The pharisees, flattered by the deference of the spouse, buried the husband with great magnificence; and readily inscribed on the tomb of their enemy, the titles of hero and father of his people.

The pharisees praised, above all, the great wisdom which the dying prince had shewn, by leav-
Alexandra.
2922.

ing the government in the hands of the queen. They flattered themselves with the hopes of deriving great advantage from this choice. Alexandra had two sons, the eldest of whom, named Hyrcan, was thirty-three years of age; but being incapable of reigning, she made him high-priest. The second, named Aristobulus, a man of a bold and enterprising character, she kept with her; but gave him no share of the sovereign authority. In this manner the sceptre was separated from the tiara. As the pharisees well knew the queen's weakness, they demanded from her three very important things: to revoke the edicts issued, during the two last reigns, against their doctrine; to grant a general amnesty to their partisans, whatever crimes they might have committed; and to recal the exiles and fugitives, and restore to them their property. When these points were obtained, the faction demanded the punishment of those who advised Alexander to put to death the eight hundred who had been crucified. Under this pretence they established a most formidable inquisition. Every day some of those who had been most faithful to their king, and who were stigmatized by their enemies with the appellation of sadducees, were seen dragged along to punishment. The queen beheld these scenes with silent affliction. This persecution continued for several years; but at last some chiefs of the oppressed party, having Aristobulus at their head, came to beg Alexandra

to put an end to these oppressive acts; or, if she did not think herself sufficiently powerful to repress the fury of the pharisees, to permit them to quit the kingdom.

This proposal alarmed the queen; as she was afraid that, by suffering the sadducees to depart, she would be left in the power of her enemies, without any defense. Recourse was, therefore, had to negotiation; and Alexandra granted to the persecuted certain places, which they were allowed to fortify for their own defense. In regard to her son Aristobulus, she employed him in a foreign war; but he soon quitted it, as a disease with which his mother was attacked made him pursue new measures. Certain symptoms gave reason to think that this malady would carry her to the grave; and, in that case, it would not have been prudent for Aristobulus to remain at court, in the midst of his enemies. He therefore retired privately, accompanied by only one person, and repaired to the fortress of Agaba, of which Gabestus, an old friend of his father, was governor. The governor readily entered into the views of the prince, and his example was followed by the governors of the principal strong places. The people, even, who had been treated with haughtiness and severity by the pharisaic faction when it believed that it had no farther need of them, declared on all sides for Aristobulus.

In the mean time the malady of Alexandra be-

came worse; and the pharisees being alarmed, took advantage of her condition to get Hyrcan, the high-priest, declared king. This was the last act of a weak reign, that gave strength to those factions which deprived the Asmonean family of the sceptre. Both parties set on foot armies. The pharisees seized the wife and children of Aristobulus, whom they kept as hostages. A battle decided the quarrel, and the party of Hyrcan was beat. Aristobulus recovered his wife and his children; and Hyrcan purchased peace at the expense of the dignities of king and high-priest, which he resigned in favour of his brother.

Hyrcan.
Aristobulus.
2934

In Idumæa there was a Jewish proselyte, named Antipater, who by his ability had acquired the esteem of the deceased king and his wife, and had obtained the government of his own country. This man, hoping that Hyrcan would be their successor, had openly declared for that prince. In order that he might secure himself from the resentment of Aristobulus, after the abdication of Hyrcan, he drew closer the bonds which united him to the pharisees, and inspired them with the utmost dread of the vengeance meditated by Aristobulus, who only waited, he said, for a favourable opportunity to call it forth, and in whom they ought to place no confidence. After mature deliberation, the party concluded that they could hope for no safety but by replacing Hyrcan on the throne. The great difficulty was to obtain the consent of this indolent prince, who would not

believe that his brother had any design against his life. But Antipater never ceased to inspire him with alarm. He was every moment telling him that his life was in danger; and that he ought either to resolve to reign or to die. Yielding to force, rather than persuasion, the weak prince at last suffered Aretas, king of Arabia, to be called in to his assistance. Antipater, at first, had demanded from the Arabian only an asylum for his prince, whose life he said was in danger; but when he conducted him to the court of Aretas, the cunning Idumæan made the Arab sensible that, as the favour which he granted to Hyrcan would infallibly embroil him with Aristobulus, the only course he could pursue to avoid the miseries of a long war, was to exert his utmost efforts to place his client on the throne. This advice was adopted, and Aretas marched into Judea. Aristobulus was surprized, and, after an unsuccessful battle, abandoned the field to the conqueror, and retired into Jerusalem.

The Romans in these countries had lieutenants, who, under the pretence of protection, enriched themselves with the spoils of the people. In consequence of the ancient alliance, Aristobulus begged Pompey to deliver him from Aretas. His request, seconded by a large sum of money, was granted. The Arab king received orders to evacuate Judea, and obeyed. The question then was, to decide which of the two brothers had a right to

the crown of Judea. They had sent two ambassadors to the Roman general; but he wished to see them in person before his tribunal. They both appeared at Damascus, and the cause was argued with great solemnity. It was remarked that Aristobulus had brought with him a great number of young persons elegantly dressed, as if he had come to a spectacle or a public entertainment. By this company some opinion may be formed of his council. Hyrcan had Antipater, whose talents would have brought him off in triumph, had not Pompey found it necessary to secure the favour of Aristobulus for some time longer; but the latter, offended at not having obtained a decision, quitted Damascus with a resolution of defending his right by the force of arms. The Roman general followed him to Judea, where they had several conferences, during which Pompey extended his power, and at length forced the prince to give orders to the governors to deliver up the fortresses to the Romans. It appears that he did this with reluctance, in order to escape, perhaps, from the hands to which he had imprudently entrusted himself, as he retired with precipitation into Jerusalem. But when he saw Pompey near the walls, being affected by the evils with which the holy city and its inhabitants were about to be oppressed, the unfortunate Aristobulus went and submitted himself at discretion to the Romans, begging them to spare the Jews. He promised to

cause the gates of the city to be opened, and to give a large sum of money to save it from being plundered; but when Pompey appeared, having either changed his mind, or promised more than he was able to perform, the Romans found the gates shut. Pompey, therefore, gave orders that he should be loaded with irons, and attacked the city.

There were two parties in it, one headed by Aristobulus, and the other by Hyrcan. The former wished to defend themselves to the last extremity, but the latter prevailed; and having admitted the Romans, even assisted them in the works they were obliged to construct to attack the temple. This edifice, which was a kind of fortress, was taken by assault. On this occasion more than twelve thousand Jews perished by the sword of the Romans, and that of their own countrymen, in whom the spirit of faction had extinguished every sentiment of pity. During the carnage the priests continued with great tranquillity to discharge the functions of their ministry, and suffered themselves to be butchered at the foot of the altar, without making the least resistance. It is hardly possible to conceive the extent of the riches which fell a prey to the conqueror; they consisted of a large sum of money, gold vessels of astonishing weight, and even a beam of massy gold. This booty served to ornament Pompey's triumph at Rome, as well as Aristobulus,

with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, and his two daughters. The conqueror put Hyrcan in possession of his former dignity of high-priest, and gave him the title of prince tributary to the republic; but he deprived him of that of king, and Judea was confined within its ancient boundaries.

Hyrcan, that phantom of a king, lost only a title, for the whole authority had been in the hands of Antipater. It is time to observe, that this Idumæan was the father of Herod. The fortune of the son may already serve to account for the conduct of the father, without the necessity of relating the motives. Antipater always fixed his attention on Hyrcan. He shewed himself the organ and the defender of a weak prince, while the ambitious Idumæan laboured only for his own interest. He watched for every favourable opportunity of ingratiating himself with the Romans. Scaurus, with his army in Arabia, being threatened by a famine, received from him very seasonably an abundant supply of provisions. He likewise engaged Aretas to give a large sum to the Roman general, to prevent his country from being pillaged; and in this manner he conferred a favour upon both. At the same time he obliged his idol Hyrcan, by procuring for him from the Athenians a golden crown, and a statue in the temple of the graces.

Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having es-

escaped from prison at Rome, came to renew the war in Judea; but being surrounded with his small army by the Romans and Antipater, he was on the point of being totally ruined, when his mother prevailed on them to grant him peace, of which Antipater was the negotiator. After the accommodation, Gabinius the Roman general divided Judea into five districts, each governed by its own magistrates. This division, in case of Hyrcan's death, would have rendered it easier for Antipater to get possession of the kingdom, by seizing the different parts, than if it had remained entire. Soon after Aristobulus escaped from Rome, and following the example of his son repaired to Judea, where he was still less fortunate. The Romans took by assault the place to which he had retired after a defeat, and sent him back to Rome covered with wounds. Alexander again made his appearance, and was defeated by Cassius and Antipater. A ray of hope, however, was still left to the unfortunate Aristobulus. Cæsar having become master of Rome, resolved to send him to Judea to oppose Antipater, the partisan of Pompey, for Hyrcan was scarcely any longer mentioned; but Aristobulus was poisoned, and Pompey's friends were supposed to be the authors of this crime. The unfortunate end of Alexander, who was beheaded at Antioch about the same time by the express order of Pompey, justified the suspicions entertained in regard to the authors of

the death of the father. We lament Pompey when we think of his assassination by Ptolemy in Egypt ; but our compassion is turned into indignation, when we reflect on the odious crimes which he committed in order to gratify his ambition.

Immediately after the death of Aristobulus, Antipater carried assistance to Cæsar in Egypt, and obtained from him the same esteem and affection as he had enjoyed from his rival. New services, and distinguished proofs of valour, exhibited opportunely in a battle, which facilitated the conquest of Egypt to Cæsar, procured to Antipater the title of procurator of Judea, and of a Roman citizen. On his account Cæsar restored to the Jews all their privileges ; and he ordered that the motives for this act of kindness should be engraven on a plate of brass : a circumstance exceedingly honourable to Antipater, whose name was not forgotten.

After these favours it may be readily judged in what manner Antigonus, the last of the children of Aristobulus, was received when he went to Syria to demand justice for the death of his father. In vain did he represent to Cæsar, that the unfortunate prince had been a victim to his attachment to him in opposition to Pompey ; in vain did he solicit for some part of the inheritance of his father : the services of Aristobulus had consisted only in good intentions ; those of Hyrcan, and of the procurator of Judea, were recent and real.

Alexander and Aristobulus were treated as seditious men, who had always been enemies to the Romans. It was decided that the former had lost his head by a just sentence; and, to shew Antigonus that he was in the wrong to attack Antipater, Cæsar renewed in favour of the latter all the privileges granted to the Jews. The senate confirmed them, and gave him permission also to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.

Proud of this success, Antipater returned in triumph to Jerusalem with Hyrcan, to whom he allowed the honours while he enjoyed the power. On this occasion the division of Judea into districts was of service to him. He gave the government of Jerusalem to Phasaël, his eldest son; made Herod, the second, governor of Galilee; and committed the rest into the hands of persons in whom he could confide. He then made a tour through Judea with Hyrcan, as if he only acted under his command. He freed the country from the banditti by which it was infested, and every-where restored peace and good order. His son Herod did the same in his government, but with less caution, and less respect for established forms, than his father. He caused Hezekiah, the chief of an undisciplined band of marauders, to be seized and put to death, as well as his accomplices, without any trial.

This act of despotic authority furnished those who were enemies to Antipater, and his family,

with a pretence for attacking Herod. He was summoned before the sanhedrim, in which Hyrcan sat as president. The governor of Galilee appeared there, not as an individual who was going to give an account of his conduct, but dressed in purple, and attended by a body of young men well armed. This escort struck the whole court with awe, so that none of the accusers would at first venture to speak. Sameas, however, a man respectable by his authority, rose and impeached Herod, not only of the crime for which he was brought before the sanhedrim, but even arraigned his unjustifiable boldness in appearing in such a manner, as if he meant to intimidate his judges; and concluded with these words: "What astonishes me is, that the high-priest and the sanhedrim should suffer it. God is no less just than powerful; and this same Herod whom you wish to absolve in order to please Hyrcan, will one day punish you himself." This prophecy was accomplished. When Herod ascended the throne he put to death the high-priest, and all the judges except Sameas, whom he always after treated with honour. On the present occasion, Herod retired with great confidence, as the judges did not dare to come to a determination. He designed in the mean time to make the sanhedrim repent of having even summoned him before it. He raised an army for the purpose of being revenged on the tribunal, as well as on Hyrcan

himself ; but Antipater diverted him from his intention.

It appears, that about this time a party was formed in Hyrcan's court against Antipater and his family, at the head of which was one Malichus, who seems to have gained the confidence of the weak high-priest. Antipater either was not sensible of it, or did not employ sufficient precaution. He was poisoned at Hyrcan's table ; but the crime of Malichus did not long remain unpunished. Herod caused him to be assassinated at Hyrcan's side. This prince had been rather governed by the Idumæan family than attached to them. His affection for the Asmoneans was renewed whenever any of that family appeared to assert their rights. He gave a decisive proof of this attachment to Antigonus his nephew, the son of his deceased brother Aristobulus. This prince went to Antioch, where Anthony then resided, to lay before him some complaints against the Idumæans ; but in particular against Phasaël, and Herod, the usurper of the sovereign power. Hyrcan was present on this interesting occasion ; and the two brothers had zealous defenders. The triumvir being embarrassed, asked Hyrcan himself, which of the two parties was fittest for governing the country. Hyrcan was so honest, or so weak, as to give the preference to the two brothers. Anthony then conferred upon them the dignity of tetrarchs, which apparently gave them sovereign authority,

and condemned the accusers to death. They were, however, saved by the intercession of Herod. In general this prince, as long as he did not wear the crown, through a dread perhaps of being exposed to the danger of reprisals, was of a mild and humane disposition.

Antigonus, thus defeated in his views, appealed to arms, and engaged Pacorus king of the Parthians, by promising him a hundred talents, and five hundred women, to assist him to conquer Judea, and to depose Hyrcan. The kingdom was accordingly invaded. Phasaël and Herod, who had still Hyrcan in their possession, entrenched themselves in Jerusalem, where various engagements took place. A kind of treaty put Phasaël and Hyrcan into the hands of Antigonus, who caused his uncle's ears to be cut off, that by this mutilation he might render him incapable of exercising the functions of high-priest. Phasaël, apprehending that he might be put to the torture, knocked out his brains against a stone. Herod, who had not bound himself by the treaty, quitted Jerusalem with his mother, his sister Salome, Mariamne his betrothed wife, Pheroras his brother, and Alexandra the mother of Mariamne, and the aunt of Antigonus. These fugitives were often attacked by the Parthians; but Herod defended them like a lion, and placed them under the care of Joseph, one of his brothers, with a chosen garrison, in Massada, a fortress of Idumæa.

He then went to seek for assistance wherever he thought he could find it. He began by Arabia; but Aretas, the friend and protector of his father, was no longer on the throne. His successor Malchus refused Herod the money which he requested. Being disappointed in this quarter he repaired to Egypt, where he was treated with much attention and respect by Cleopatra, then on the throne; but he obtained neither troops nor money. While he remained in Egypt, Malchus, ashamed of having sent him away with a refusal, begged him to return to Arabia, and promised him assistance. The proud Herod rejected this tardy aid, and set out for Rome, where he experienced more success, being taken under the protection of Anthony. The ambition of the Idumæan prince was, however, confined to the placing Aristobulus, the brother of his beloved Mariamne, on the throne; and with being under him at the head of affairs, as his father had been under Hyrcan. It was love, no doubt, that inspired him with this moderation, which was not approved by Anthony, who afterwards, on account of the same passion, made sacrifices of a different kind. "You shall reign," said he. And this resolution being formed, Antigonus was declared by the senate an enemy of the Romans, and Herod king of the Jews, with a promise of powerful assistance. The latter returned to Judea, released his family, who were reduced in

Massada to the utmost extremity, and in his turn laid siege to Antigonus in Jerusalem.

The success of the siege was retarded by various obstacles. The troops demanded winter quarters sooner than they ought, and murmured on account of a scarcity of provisions. The Roman and other chiefs asked money, and even when they had received it demanded more. Herod, to extricate himself from this embarrassment, raised the siege, but with an intention of resuming it. He employed this interval in pursuing the banditti of Galilee, who had taken shelter in inaccessible caverns. Herod caused boxes to be constructed, and suspended by iron chains, in which the soldiers descended to the mouths of the caverns, and destroyed those who resided in them, either by smoke or by their arms. The inhabitants, however, of these retreats were not all robbers; some of them were zealous Jews, who preferred death to the disgrace of bending under the yoke of an Idumæan, a simple proselyte, or, as they called him, a half Jew. One of these obstinate and ferocious men, seeing no means of escape, and being harassed by the entreaties of his wife and children, seven in number, who wished to submit, placed himself at the entrance of the cavern, killed his wife and children as they attempted to go out, threw their bodies to the bottom of the mountain, and then precipitated himself after them. Before he com-

mitted this horrid deed he imprecated the vengeance of Heaven on Herod, who not being able to reach him, begged at a distance that he would spare himself and his family.

After these expeditions he returned to the siege of Jerusalem. The lower city made very little resistance; but the upper, to which Antigonus had retired, held out five months, though exposed to the horrors of famine. Being taken by assault, a dreadful slaughter was made of the inhabitants. Herod preserved the temple from pillage, by giving the soldiers a certain sum of money from his own property; and he saved from the ferocity of the conquerors as many victims as he could. Antigonus surrendered, and entreated mercy; but the political Herod did not suffer him to live. He had still a sufficiency of money to obtain the death of his prisoner from Anthony, to whom he was conducted.

Herod possessed eminent qualities; and it cannot be denied, that he united the bravery of a soldier to the talents of a general. He was eminently well skilled in the science of government; possessed great political address, with a wonderful taste for magnificence; firmness under misfortunes, and fertility of resource; with the talent of making himself be obeyed, and of obtaining the esteem and affection of those for whom he had occasion. But we observe also in his character a cruelty which effaces all his other virtues; a rest-

Herod,
2962.

less, suspicious, gloomy disposition ; no scruple in regard to the means he employed to accomplish his designs, and no moderation in his enjoyments. No man ever abandoned himself more to his passions, or was more punished by their effects. It has been already remarked, that before he attained to the throne he displayed some humanity ; but as soon as he was seated on it, his whole attention was engaged with two objects :—to fill his coffers, exhausted by the considerable sums which he had been obliged to give to the Romans, and to destroy the remains of the faction of Antigonus. These two designs inspired him with the most merciless rapacity. He caused to be conveyed to his treasury the valuable furniture of all the opulent families. Besides other acts of the like kind, he confiscated the property of forty-five of the partisans of Antigonus, whom he put to death ; and to prevent any of the plunder from escaping his rapacious hands, he posted guards at the gates to examine the coffins, lest they might be employed to carry away part of the spoils.

Love, however, excited some sparks in this ferocious mind, but they were soon lost in the dismal fire of jealousy : a jealousy of affection, and jealousy of authority, which occasioned the ruin of Herod and of all those by whom he was surrounded. He had obtained the hand of the beautiful Mariamne, the daughter of Alexandra, the sister of Hyrcan. Mariamne had a brother named Aristobulus, in the

flower of his age, and equally handsome as herself. Old Hyrcan, their grand-father, having been carried away by the Parthians when they took Jerusalem for Antigonius, resided among these people in peace and retirement. In his room Herod had raised to the dignity of high-priest a person then absent, named Ananel, who was not even of the pontifical race. Alexandra was much hurt by the motive of this preference, which was nothing else than to fill up the place that he might have a pretence for not giving it to Aristobulus, who ought to have succeeded his grand-father. The mother of the young prince, after applying in vain to her son-in-law, addressed herself to Cleopatra, and obtained from Anthony, through her means, an order to Herod to instal his brother-in-law. Herod complied, but with reluctance. At the feast of tabernacles the new high-priest, who was only seventeen years of age, appeared at the altar clothed in the pontifical robes, and performed the duties of the holy ministry with so much grace and majesty, that the spectators could not help testifying their joy by loud bursts of applause. These acclamations were his sentence of death. A few days after some of Herod's emissaries invited young Aristobulus to bathe in a neighbouring fish-pond; and having made him dive as if for amusement, kept him so long under the water that he was drowned. This crime was connected with all those which Herod committed in his fa-

mily, and of which his sister Salome, the most infernal character that perhaps ever existed, was the cause and the instrument.

An account of this odious crime having been transmitted to Cleopatra by the mother of the young prince, who demanded vengeance, Herod was summoned to appear before Anthony at Laodicea. Though he carried with him from his treasury weighty arguments to get himself declared innocent, when he set out he desired his uncle Joseph, under whose care he left Mariamne, to put her to death in case he did not return, lest she should fall into the hands of Anthony, whom he suspected to have become enamoured of her by only seeing her portrait. In a moment of confidence Joseph had the indiscretion to communicate to Mariamne this strange mark of love; and Mariamne was so imprudent as to reproach her husband with it when he returned. Such confidence, according to the conjectures of a jealous husband, could be the result of nothing but the most intimate familiarity. Salome being incensed against Mariamne, who despised her, endeavoured by raising false reports to give probability to the suspicions of her brother, who, without farther enquiry, caused his uncle Joseph to be put to death, and confined Alexandra for having been the occasion of this fatal journey.

2969.

The solicitude of love was afterwards banished by political cares. Anthony being dead, Octavi-

anus avenged himself in a cruel manner on his partisans. Herod, who had every reason to be afraid, repaired to Rome to plead his own cause; and before his departure entrusted his sister Salome to his brother Pheroras. In regard to his spouse Mariamne, he confined her along with his mother Alexandra, in the fortress of Massada, under the care of Joseph his treasurer, and of Sohemus his confidant, with the same sanguinary orders as those which he before gave, on a similar occasion. He freed himself also from another cause of uneasiness. Old Hyrcan, notwithstanding the comforts which he enjoyed at Babylon, under the dominion of the Parthians, anxiously longed to revisit his native country. When he learned that Herod was on the throne he returned, prepossessed with a belief that the services which he had formerly rendered to his family would procure him a good reception. Herod himself even employed flattery to entice him to Judea; but when he arrived he treated him with indifference. It would have been fortunate if he had still retained the same sentiments. But the suspicious tyrant, when ready to depart, began to reflect that Alexandra might employ the former credit of her father to excite some disturbance; and the unfortunate Hyrcan, always a slave to others even in his grandeur, was sacrificed at the age of eighty, to the dread, not of the mischief which he might have done himself,

but of that which might have been done in his name.

When this cruel precaution was taken, Herod embarked for Rome. It was on such occasions that he displayed the energy of his character. He accosted Augustus, not as a suppliant, but with confidence and intrepidity. "I have been the friend of Anthony," said he, "and it was not for want of my attachment, that he did not make a glorious resistance to your arms. I advised him to abandon Cleopatra, and with the resources of her kingdom to try the fate of war once more against you. In that case I should have given him every assistance in my power. I conceived that this conduct was dictated to me by honour, gratitude, and friendship; but since Anthony neglected my counsels, he has by these means given me a right to offer my services to you. If you deign to accept them, you will find in me a friend, as much attached to your interests as I formerly was to those of your rival." This harangue, accompanied with valuable presents, gave great satisfaction to Augustus, who conceived a singular esteem for the king of Judea, and was always rather his friend than his protector. Herod confirmed him in these sentiments by the magnificent manner in which he twice received him, when going to and returning from Syria. Presents at the court of Augustus,

provisions to his troops, large sums of money poured into his treasury, amusements, and parties of pleasure, all were employed to gain the friendship of that great man.

At the same time, however, that the monarch was superintending these entertainments, he was tormented with the utmost uneasiness on account of Mariamne. She had the dangerous curiosity to enquire, whether the same cruel orders had been renewed against her. The fatal secret escaped also from Sohemus, so that when the husband returned, full of ardour, to the spouse whom he adored, he met with a cool reception, which was followed by bitter reproaches: whether it was that Mariamne thought herself sufficiently certain of her husband's love, to check when she pleased the transports of his vengeance, or that being tired of living with a man whom she detested, she was indifferent in regard to the consequences, she broke out into open complaints respecting the death of her young brother, that of her grandfather, and the attempts intended and commanded to be made against her own life. These reproaches, which were too just, threw the monarch into despair. They shewed him that he could no longer depend on an affection which he would have purchased with his blood. These reflexions filled him with the utmost distress. His mind was agitated in turns by plans of violence, repentance, despair, the hope of obtaining forgiveness, and the

most impetuous and turbulent emotions. Salome, a despised and implacable enemy, embraced the opportunity of one of these violent transports to be revenged of her sister-in-law. The king's cup-bearer appeared before him, holding in one hand a poisoned cup, and in the other the money which the queen, he said, had just given him to make his spouse swallow the draught. The plot was badly formed; but what may not a prejudiced man be induced to believe? It would appear that an eunuch, whom the princess honoured with some esteem, was involved in the accusation. Herod ordered that he should be put to the torture: but the unfortunate wretch said only, that he believed the order given to Sohemus to be the cause of the aversion which the queen shewed to her husband. In this confession the jealous husband thought he could discover a reprehensible intimacy between the eunuch and his wife, and he caused him to be immediately massacred. Mariamne was carried before judges bribed by Salome, who condemned her to death. These infamous judges, however, begged that the execution might be suspended; but the sister-in-law caused a report to reach the ears of Herod, that the people were rising in favour of the criminal. Under this pretence she extorted from the monarch the fatal order. Mariamne proceeded to the scaffold with firmness and tranquillity. Her mother Alexandra threw herself in her way, and flattering herself

with the hopes of securing the good-will of her son-in-law, she had the meanness to insult her unhappy daughter by the most cruel reproaches ; but the queen did not deign to return an answer, and submitted to the fatal blow with heroic fortitude.

Alexandra did not derive the expected advantage from the mean adulation which had induced her to poison the last moments of her daughter. On account of a slight offense Herod put her to death. This prince, haunted by the image of a woman whom he idolized, experienced the most poignant remorse, which rendered his life wretched. He always beheld in idea his dear Mariamne, pronounced her name aloud in his moments of delirium, and ordered her to be brought to him, as he could not believe that he had put her to death. No amusements were capable of soothing his despair ; and it appears that even religion, which often calms the tumult of affliction, had no power over his troubled mind. He had sometimes shewn marks of piety ; but when he found himself absolutely free from control, he no longer kept within bounds. This conduct excited the murmurs of the people. Either to appease them, or to gratify his own taste for magnificence, he resolved to restore the temple to its ancient splendor. He employed considerable sums for this purpose, and rendered it an edifice almost equal, if not superior, to that of Solomon. He rebuilt also the walls of Jerusalem, and fortified

several cities. In times of scarcity and misfortune, such as those of an earthquake and plague, which occasioned great ravage in Judea, the royal treasury was opened, and afforded great relief to the sufferers. The king diffused joy among the people by festivals, games, spectacles, and other diversions; all highly agreeable to a nation which before had been acquainted only with religious solemnities. He took care, above all things, to avoid war. Peace made his states flourish, and rendered the kingdom happy; but the monarch, on his throne, experienced new afflictions, which might have induced him to envy the meanest of his subjects.

2984.

Mariamne had left him two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, whom the father caused to be educated at Rome. When their education was finished he went thither for them himself, and married Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and Aristobulus to Berenice, the daughter of his sister Salome. These princes, too faithful imitators of the open candour of their unfortunate mother, did not sufficiently conceal the indignation excited in their minds by the remembrance of her melancholy fate. Salome often found herself involved in their murmurs; and if they did not openly accuse their father, they shewed him by their coolness what sentiments they entertained of that horrid catastrophe. Herod, instead of soothing by a mild

conduct their irritated minds, endeavoured to subdue them by fear. By a wife whom he married before Mariamne he had a son named Antipater, for whom he shewed great predilection, and whom he loaded with favours. The two brothers, incapable of containing their resentment, gave vent to every thing which it dictated against the rival opposed to them; while he, on the other hand, artful and dissembling, did not suffer the least word to escape from him against them. As his views were directed to the throne, Salome wished to remove those of whose vengeance she was afraid, and the most perfect harmony was soon established between her and Antipater. They both guessed each other's designs, and found means to inspire Herod in such a manner with suspicions that he dragged his sons to Rome to accuse them of high-treason. This calumnious imputation made the princes shed tears. Alexander pleaded his own cause and that of his brother with so much eloquence, that Augustus, convinced of their innocence, could not help testifying to the father that he had accused them on too slight grounds. This decision produced a reconciliation. But Herod was too suspicious, his sons too imprudent, and their enemies too artful, to suffer it long to continue.

The suspicions inspired by Salome and Antipater were revived; but inferior victims were presented to the monarch's fury before his rage was

directed against his sons. No person in his palace was safe, and no room was left for defense, as accusation was instantly followed by death. An attempt was at last made against the princes themselves. Alexander was accused of having prevailed on his steward and cup-bearer, his greatest favourites, to poison the king. Being put to the rack they constantly denied the charge; but on their torture being increased they suffered some words to escape from them, which seemed to afford sufficient grounds for arresting the prince. This young man, in the utmost despair, sent to the king four different confessions, containing an acknowledgment of much more than had been extorted by means of the rack. He involved in them the whole court, the ministers, Pheroras, and, above all, Salome. He accused the last of having come to him when in bed, to induce him to support the plot formed against the tyrant, from whom neither peace nor happiness was to be expected.

This accusation, the object of which was to increase the general confusion, produced its effect. Herod, no longer knowing whom he could trust, became the sport of his own fury and suspicions. Day and night he beheld in imagination his sons armed with daggers, and ready to strike the fatal blow. The tyrant himself was as much to be pitied as the victims of his cruelty. Archelaus, the father-in-law of Alexander, being informed of

these disorders, came to Jerufalem, and by his mild behaviour, exhortations to the children, and intreaties to the father, fucceeded in effecting a reconciliation. It was proved that the young princes had never made any attempt either againft the life or the crown of their father. Pheroras had the effrontery to charge himfelf with the crime of the accusation, which he afcribed, no doubt, to an excefs of attachment to his brother Herod. Herod heard him, believed in his fincerity, and retained him with him.

The unfortunate princes had been fo much injured that they could not help thinking that thofe by whom they had been calumniated would endeavour to get rid of them. It was natural, therefore, that their refidence in a court where their enemies had great influence fhould be difagreeable to them. They accordingly refolved to leave it, and to retire to fome neighbouring country, where they might live in tranquillity. This defign being made public, infpired the king with new alarm, which their enemies took care to ftrengthen, by afcribing it to plans of revolt. Herod, confirmed in his fufpicions, was no fooner informed than he ordered his fons to be arrefted, and afsembled a court, to which he invited commiffioners from Auguftus. The king, in the prefence of five hundred perfons, pleaded himfelf againft his unfortunate children with fuch vehemence, as excited the indignation of the whole audience. A plurality

of voices, however, produced a sentence of death. The accused were not suffered to speak. One man only, named Tyro, had the boldness to represent to the king that by the death of his two sons he would incur the indignation of the people who were attached to them, and would throw himself into the hands of Antipater, the only author of the conspiracies formed against him; but Salome was so artful as to make Tyro be suspected of the same crime as that with which he charged Antipater. Tyro being desired to name the accomplices of the prince, was not able; on the contrary, he was himself accused of having bribed the king's barber to cut his throat, Tyro with his son and the barber were put to the rack, and expired amidst torture. The two princes were conducted to Sebaste, and strangled.

These executions struck a terror even into those who had been the cause of them, and every one fled from the habitation of so dangerous a tyrant. People were even afraid of encountering his looks. Pheroras, under the pretence of some discontent, which he had himself produced, retired to his hierarchy. Antipater got himself sent to Rome to Augustus, that he might cultivate his friendship for Herod. When at this distance these two men formed a design, one to get rid of his brother, and the other of his father. Antipater sent poison to Pheroras, but the latter, touched by some sentiments of attachment to Herod, de-

ferred making use of it. He died a natural death ; and the poison having been committed to the care of his wife, was discovered by Herod, who by these means learned the whole plot. Herod sent for Antipater, who repaired to him without the least suspicion, and was immediately loaded with chains. Unfortunately for himself, he had made a formidable enemy of Salome, his aunt, by endeavouring to inspire the king, her brother, with suspicions against her. The letters which contained the proof of this intrigue were sent from Rome. Salome, trusting to her innocence, for the first time perhaps in her life, excited the resentment of the king against her former accomplice, and made him appear before a tribunal of which Varus was president, and which had been demanded by Herod from Augustus.

This last scene of the life of Herod would be affecting, if the remembrance of his cruelties did not extinguish every spark of compassion. Antipater appeared with the shame of guilt in his countenance. He prostrated himself in the most debasing manner, and implored the pity of Herod. " Rise," said his father to him, " and listen." He then accused him of having attempted to poison him ; explained the whole clue of the conspiracy which he had discovered ; called witnesses, and produced his proofs. The last article of the accusation, which he pronounced with the greatest vehemence, was that of the death of his two

amiable sons: "If they were guilty," said he, "thou hast been their barbarous persecutor; and" "if innocent, their infamous murderer." When he uttered the names of these two princes his words were interrupted by sighs; and he could only make a sign to his advocate to proceed to the chief heads of the accusation. Antipater endeavoured to justify himself; but being overpowered by the weight of evidence, he had recourse to imprecations and oaths, the usual resource of the worthless when convicted. Varus did not pronounce sentence; it was referred to the decision of Augustus, to whom Herod wrote a letter.

During this affair the monarch, besides distress of mind, was exposed to great bodily affliction, by a painful disease. Historians have given us a dreadful picture of this malady, which they consider as a punishment from Heaven, and the precursor of that destined for this prince in the other world. Every crisis announced his speedy dissolution, and a report was one day spread that he was actually dead. Antipater, in his prison, testified great joy on this occasion; but his father having heard of it caused him to be put to death. The latter did not survive his son above five days: he died at the age of sixty, "consoled," says Josephus the historian, "for his domestic unhappiness, by the pleasure of having succeeded in every thing else." He retained his ferocious character till the very last moment. When he

found death approaching, he ordered the chief men of the nation to be assembled at Jericho, where they were shut up in the Circus; and he expressly charged his sister Salome and her husband Alexas to cause all these Jews to be massacred, as soon as he had emitted his last breath. "It is thus," said he, "that I will not only repress the malignant joy of these people, but oblige them even to shed tears at my death." This barbarous order was not executed. As soon as the king was dead, Alexas and Salome caused the Circus to be opened, and released the prisoners.

Under Herod was accomplished the prophecy ^{The} which had announced that the Messiah ^{Messiah.} should be born when the sceptre passed from Judah; that is to say, when the Jews should cease to be governed by princes of their own race. Herod had destroyed all the Asmonean princes; and it is therefore under him that we are to seek for the coming of the Messiah, so much desired by the Jews. These people do not acknowledge Jesus, because certain facts which accompanied his birth are not announced in prophane history. They wish to find in the life of Herod, 1. the reception which he gave to the magi; 2. his conversation with them when he desired them to return to his court after they had found the child whom they were in quest of; and, 3. the inhuman order which he issued for putting to death all the children of

Bethlehem, below two years of age, that he might endeavour to involve in that massacre the one who was said to be born with a right to the throne which he occupied, and which he destined for his own family. But the silence of prophane historians is not a proof that these facts never took place. 1. The court of Herod, rich and magnificent, was frequented by so many foreigners, attracted thither by curiosity, that it was impossible for historians to give an account of all those by whom it was visited. It was enough to mention the reception of some celebrated personages, such as Cleopatra, Augustus, and Agrippa. 2. The uneasiness which Herod manifested to the magi, might have been considered by his courtiers as the effects of his gloomy suspicious character, of little importance, and therefore unworthy of being transmitted to posterity. 3. In regard to the massacre of the innocent children, when we reflect on the other cruelties of Herod, who by the sword, famine, or other means, put to death an immense number of both sexes, and of all ages, the order for massacring the children of a village will not excite much surprize; and though this order might have merited the attention of those interested, was it of sufficient importance to fix the attention of the historian? Besides, does not the horrid barbarity by which he wished to stain his funeral render every thing credible of such a monster?

As he had foreseen, the mourning on account of his death was neither striking nor of long duration. Archelaus, his grand-son, whom by his will he had declared his successor, gave to the funereal pomp all the splendour of royalty, and concluded it with a festival, donations to the people, and a magnificent entertainment to his friends. His will expressly stated that it should not be valid till it had been confirmed by Cæsar. In consequence of this clause, Archelaus would neither assume the crown, nor seat himself on the throne, until he had paid a visit to Rome.

His departure was delayed by an insurrection. Archelaus, 3000. As mildness had no effect on the insurgents, he employed force, and this was imputed to him as a crime. During the course of his journey to Rome four other revolts broke out. The first of these was against the Roman officers who had come to execute Herod's will. The chief person concerned in the second was an adventurer, named Judas, whose efforts were for some time attended with success, because he got possession of a royal arsenal, where he found clothing and arms for his troops. He plundered the treasury also, by which he acquired money to pay them. The third was occasioned by a young man of a handsome figure, named Simeon, much esteemed by the Jews, who pursued a method of war which generally succeeds in times of turbulence. He led his followers against the houses of the opulent,

the riches of which he allowed them to plunder. The last was directed by one Athronges, a brutal, ferocious man, of a gigantic stature, who, assisted by four brothers like himself, had the presumption to exchange his shepherds' crook for a sceptre. His soldiers, worthy of such a commander, committed every kind of atrocity, wherever they were able to penetrate. The Romans found it very difficult to reduce these insurgents to obedience. The chiefs suffered themselves to be cut to pieces rather than surrender; and by these means they avoided the punishment inflicted on their companions, who were crucified to the number of two thousand. So many rebellions in so short a time would almost justify the severity, and even barbarity, with which Herod had governed this obstinate and intractable people.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of governing this nation, a dispute respecting the throne took place at Rome; for Archelaus was not the only candidate. Salome, always fond of intrigue, had carried thither Antipas, another of Herod's sons. As there existed two wills of that prince, by one of which he declared Antipas his successor, and by the other gave the crown of Judea to Archelaus, the question was to decide between them. The defenders of the former said that it was more valid than the second, having been made at a time when the mind of the testator was neither weakened by disease nor by old age. The advocate of Archelaus laid

great stress, in regard to the validity of his title, on the clause which left the execution of the will to Cæsar. A third party, composed of Jewish deputies, enemies both to Antipas and Archelaus, wished for no king; but that Judea, declared a Roman province, should be governed by Roman magistrates. Augustus pursued a mean course between these opinions. He gave the half of the kingdom to Archelaus, with the title of Ethnarch, or chief of the nation; but promised to confer on him that of king, as soon as he should prove, by his conduct, that he was worthy of it. The portion assigned to Archelaus, comprehended Judea, Idumæa, and Samaria. The rest of the states of Herod were divided between his two sons; Philip, who had a part of Galilee, with the adjacent districts; and Antipas, who got the other part as far as the river Jordan. Salome, who was much favoured in both the wills, did not suffer herself to be neglected in the partition. She received cities and money. Augustus distributed the whole bequest to the other grand-sons of the deceased; married the daughters, who remained to be provided for; and kept nothing to himself but some plate of little value, out of regard for the memory of his friend.

The clause which promised royalty to Archelaus, in case of his good behaviour, was not inserted without a good reason. This prince gave very little hope of a mild and prudent government. He

was considered as despotic and revengeful; and the manner in which he had terminated and punished the rebellion, before his journey to Rome, had afforded a just cause for reproaching him with cruelty. The event corresponded too much with this commencement. Besides bad conduct, immorality, public libertinism, and open irreligion, the Jews and Samaritans went to Rome to complain of his extortion and tyranny. Augustus ordered him to appear like a plain individual; exiled him to Vienne in Gaul, after confiscating his property; and reduced his possessions into the form of a Roman province.

In a few years there were four governors, all avaricious, imperious, arbitrary, extortioners, and contemners of those whom they governed, which is often the source of the greatest calamities. All these bad qualities were united, in an eminent degree, in Pontius Pilate, the fifth. Like his predecessors, he sported with the dignity of high-priest; conferring and resuming it, without regard to merit, or the opinion of the public; which, though often the effect of prejudice, is respectable when universal, and at any rate ought not to be violated but with the utmost precaution, and in cases of necessity. The Jews abhorred images; and considered them, even on military standards, as signs of paganism, which ought to be interdicted from entering the holy city. Pilate was aware of this aversion; but, either to mortify them or to

extort money, for he was extremely avaricious, he introduced the Roman eagles into Jerusalem. The inhabitants, in great consternation, went and begged he would order these objects of scandal to be withdrawn. They remained five days and five nights prostrated at the gate of his palace without receiving an answer. At last, he seemed willing to give them a hearing; ordered a tribunal to be erected in the Circus, and caused himself to be surrounded by soldiers, who were commanded, on a certain signal, to fall upon those who refused to depart. The Jews, however, far from being terrified, stretched out their necks to the assassins, protesting that death would be less terrible to them than the violation of their laws. Pilate suffered himself to be moved, and ordered the standards to be withdrawn from their metropolis. On other occasions, the fear of being denounced to Cæsar made him revoke unjust orders, though disposed to repeat them through the same fear.

Such was the governor of Judea when Jesus made himself known in that country. Were he only an extraordinary man, his life would deserve to be recorded; but it is certainly much more worthy of attention, when we consider him as the author of a religion which has been extended over the whole earth. Jesus was poor, though of the race of David. His mother conceived him when still a virgin, and brought him into the world in a village of Galilee. His birth was announced to

the high and the low ; to the latter by the ministry of angels, who communicated this intelligence to shepherds ; and to the former by a star, which conducted the wise men to his cradle. His mother was obliged to carry him with her to Egypt, to avoid the jealous researches of Herod. At the age of twelve he astonished the doctors in the temple, by the wisdom of his replies.

Mission of
Jesus Christ,
3029.

His mission had been foretold by John, the son of Zacharias, a priest or prophet, and the precursor of the Messiah. John's disciples attached themselves to Christ, by the orders of their master. Water changed into wine, is the first miracle which attested his power ; and the expulsion of the money changers from the temple, which they profaned, his first act of authority. By his profound knowledge he converted a doctor of the pharisees, named Nicodemus. He was much affected by the fate of John, who fell a victim to his zeal against the vices of Herod and his wife Herodias. His curing the centurion's son, delivering the demoniac from the spirits by which he was tormented, the miraculous draught of fishes, and his restoring the man lame of the palsy to the use of his limbs, served to support his doctrine. He healed on the sabbath day, notwithstanding the scandal which this gave to the pharisees, who were more attached to the letter than the spirit of the law.

Nothing can be more astonishing than his choice

of apostles, whom he selected from the lower classes of the people, who were rude and ignorant. Mildness, benevolence, and the spirit of peace, are displayed in his sermon on the Mount; and his tender indulgence for penitent sinners, is exhibited in the consoling reception which he gave to a female offender. Repentance ought to be encouraged. "The bruised reed ye shall not break, nor quench the smoking flax." The woman caught in adultery, who was still more criminal, when brought before him found comfort. "Let him," said he, "who is without sin cast the first stone at her." On this reply, her accusers, who thought to obtain from him a sentence of death, retired in confusion.

The precepts of Jesus breathed nothing but meekness, and his remonstrances a desire of being useful. His parables abound with truth; and his exhortations with the pathetic. What virtue does he not extol; against what vice does he not denounce judgement. Whether he makes the lame to walk, opens the eyes of the blind, or raises the dead, he does it like one master of nature; without exertion, and without seeming astonished at his power. He enters the sea, and it becomes solid beneath his feet. Under his beneficent hand five loaves are multiplied so as to be sufficient to feed five thousand persons. But if the deity is displayed in his miracles, he shewed himself as a man to his friends. How sweet the tears which he shed

with the afflicted sisters of Lazarus, and that transport of affection to his disciples, when he said: "Let us go and restore him to life." What contrast between this sensibility for a friend, and the indifference with which he foretold the calumnies that would be heaped upon him, the torments to which he would be exposed, and the ignominious death prepared for him!

It was the work of the hatred of the pharisees, whose pride he checked, and whose hypocrisy he unmasked. They extorted a sentence of condemnation against him from Pontius Pilate the governor, by threatening to denounce him to Cæsar if he pardoned a man who styled himself king of the Jews. As the whole life of Jesus had been one continued miracle, his death was equally glorious. He rose from the grave on the third day, shewed himself to his apostles, and ordered them to go and preach his doctrine throughout the whole earth. In an enlightened age, in a city distinguished by its opulence, the centre of luxury and pleasure, twelve rude and ignorant men taught and established a religion founded on mysteries; hostile to pleasure, and an enemy to pomp and every thing that flatters the pride of man. They made it prevail, notwithstanding the opposition of the doctors, as well as the prejudice of sovereigns; and it, at length, overspread the whole earth. Such, in a few words, is the life and doctrine of the founder of christianity. Its success, which is

the greatest of all miracles, may alone be sufficient to establish the truth of its divine origin.

The mean complacency of Pontius Pilate, which Agrippa made him sign the sentence of death against Jesus Christ, contrary to the remonstrance of his own conscience, did not save him from the disgrace which he apprehended. The Jews having complained of his extortion, he was recalled and sent into exile. A king, tried by the vicissitudes of fortune, succeeded a series of governors, whom Judea had sometimes cause to commend, and sometimes to condemn.

Herod Agrippa, the grand-son of Herod the Great, was educated at Rome in the court of Tiberius, with Drusus and Caius, surnamed afterwards Caligula. Agrippa, by these means was accustomed to luxury and extravagance. On the death of Drusus, Tiberius dismissed the friends of that prince, in order that he might not have before his eyes people who would continually recall to his remembrance a beloved nephew. In consequence of this measure, Agrippa found himself in the greatest embarrassment, without resources, and loaded with debt. He shut himself up, therefore, in a castle of Idumæa, resolved to starve himself to death. His wife supplied him with some succours, which were soon exhausted. Herod Antipas, his brother-in-law, thought he conferred on him a noble present by giving him the chief magistracy of Tiberias, on the revenue of which he might

have subsisted in an honourable manner ; but this income was not sufficient for a man incapable of regulating his expenses by the rules of prudence.

Being reproached on this account by his brother-in-law, Agrippa, ill calculated to endure any reprimand, retired to Flaccus the governor of Syria, with whom he lived some time at ease ; but a quarrel having taken place between them, he returned to Rome, resolved to run every hazard ; and indeed his creditors caused him to be arrested, and to be thrown into prison. While he was languishing in confinement, Tiberius died, and was succeeded by Caligula. The first care of the new emperor was to release his friend Agrippa, who being transferred from a dungeon to the palace, exchanged his chains of iron for one of gold, which was presented to him by Caligula, who clothed him in purple, placed the diadem on his head, and established him king of Judea. The Jews have had few princes from whose government they received so much benefit. Passing through Alexandria, on his way to his kingdom, he caused the governor to be punished, for having behaved to him in an unbecoming manner.

This prince risked his favour with Caligula, and even his life, to prevent the inhabitants of Jerusalem from seeing an insult offered to their religion, which they dreaded more than death. The emperor had taken it into his head to erect a statue of Jupiter in the temple, and to cause him-

self to be adored there as a god. In vain did Petronius, the governor, defer the execution of this order, by saying that it would be necessary to give time to the artists to finish the statue, which ought to be a master-piece. Caligula insisted; and Petronius, notwithstanding his good intentions, was on the point of being forced to obey. Agrippa, who was at Rome, waited on the emperor with a design of making him change, or at least suspend, his sacrilegious order; but the king, instead of being treated with the usual kindness, received the following answer, equally foolish as impious: "Your Jewish subjects are strange people, to refuse to acknowledge me as a god. I commanded a statue of Jupiter to be erected in their temple; but it seems that my orders have met with a resistance, which I must consider as open rebellion." On hearing these words, Agrippa, as if thunderstruck, fell down senseless, and was removed from the presence of the emperor, who did not appear to be in the least affected by his situation. After some days, however, Agrippa, who knew his weak side, gave a grand entertainment; and during the gaiety of convivial enjoyment, obtained what had been denied to him at a less propitious moment.

Agrippa was of considerable service to Claudius in assisting him to obtain the throne; and by this kind office he decidedly acquired his favour, which he employed for the good of his people. When

he returned to his kingdom, he displayed more zeal for the Jewish religion than any of his predecessors. Besides distinguishing himself by a sincere attachment to the worship of his ancestors, he rendered himself worthy of esteem by several acts of generosity and mercy; yet he has not been praised by the christian historians, because he began the persecutions against their religion. By the influence which he enjoyed at Rome, he obtained leave to fortify a great many cities. The suspicious Romans, however, obliged him to desist from the construction of a rampart, which might have rendered Jerusalem almost impregnable. He was so much respected by his neighbours that, during a journey which he undertook to Tiberias, he was visited and complimented by five kings. This assemblage of monarchs formed a singular contrast with the modest part which he had before acted in the same city, when its chief magistrate. Instead of forgetting his former state, he caused to be suspended in the temple, close to his diadem, the gold chain which he had exchanged for that of iron, as a monument of the vicissitudes of fortune. He left a son, named Agrippa, aged seventeen, and three daughters, all betrothed to kings.

Claudius at first was desirous of placing young Agrippa on the throne; but having on reflexion altered his mind, he reduced Judea into the form of a Roman province, and after some years gave it to Agrippa, in exchange for the kingdom of

Chalcis. Judea was committed to the care of a governor named Felix, brother to Pallas the emperor's favourite. In mentioning this consanguinity we mean to say, that the governor thought himself authorized to act as he pleased; and that the Jews were exceedingly miserable under his rod of iron. He had already appeared, and was always seen, accompanied by bands of banditti. By the negligence or collusion of the governor they introduced themselves into cities, and he made use of them to get rid of those who offended him. After his example the Jews became accustomed to hire assassins for the like purpose.

Great disorder had taken place in the sanctuary. For a long time the high-priests had only shewn themselves on the pontifical throne. Kings, governors, prætors, and all those who had authority, found it their interest to render this dignity unsteady, and to make it pass as it were from hand to hand. The inferior priests were equally unsettled in their places. It was necessary that those expelled, as well as those who possessed them, should live; but as the tithes, offerings, and other perquisites, were insufficient for that purpose, they wrested them from each other. Their animosity proceeded to such a length, that the competitors never appeared in public without being accompanied by assassins; and they attacked each other even when they met in the temple, which they stained with the blood of martyrs. Festus, the

successor of Felix, employed the whole period of his government in endeavouring to suppress three commotions, which may be called civil wars: that of the priests among themselves; that of the seditious laics against the Romans and the Jews, who had voluntarily submitted to them; and, in the last place, that against the banditti. The last insinuated themselves secretly into private houses, and lay in wait on the highways; but particularly for women and children, whom they carried off to their retreats, from which they sent notice to their relations, that they would release them for a certain ransom.

Festus was succeeded by Gessius Florus, who shewed how great a scourge a wicked man may be when armed with power. His rapine, his cruelty, and the communication he kept up for his own private ends with the most desperate of the banditti, were so notorious, and so disgusting, that the Jews did not consider him so much as a magistrate sent to govern them, as an executioner destined to exterminate them. His object was to excite them to open rebellion, that he might have the cruel pleasure of beholding them destroy each other, or to prevent them from examining his horrid administration. He succeeded too well in this abominable design; and scattered the seeds of discord in such a manner, that he found means to kindle up a war which did not terminate but with the total ruin of the Jewish nation. Jesus Christ had predicted this in

a manner almost as clear as if he had spoken after the event ; but what shall we think of what is related by Josephus, the historian, of a peasant named Jesus ?

He was seized during the feast of tabernacles with a strange phrenzy, running up and down the streets of the city in the night time, crying out : “ Woe to the city ! Woe to the temple ! A voice from the four winds ! A voice against Jerusalem ! A voice against the people ! ” He repeated these melancholy exclamations during festivals, and on the sabbath day, without his voice being ever weakened. The Jewish chiefs ordered him to be scourged ; but they were not able to make him answer any of their questions, or to hold his tongue. The governor increased the severity of his punishment, and caused his flesh to be torn till he was covered with blood ; but he did not suffer a single word, nor even a sigh, to escape from his lips. He neither reviled those who struck him, nor thanked those who supplied him with food. He was at last suffered to go about as a madman, and the people became accustomed to hear his raving without emotion ; but one day, after having pronounced his terrible threats, he added in a more melancholy tone : “ Woe to thee also ! ” was at the same time struck by a stone thrown from a machine, fell down, and instantly expired.

The hatred of the people against Florus had risen to the utmost height, and extended even to

the Romans, and to those who were attached to them. Wherever the Jews had the superiority none of them were spared; and the Romans in revenge massacred those Jews even who held their peace, and remained quiet in their habitations. Thus Florus, though his motive is not known, sent soldiers to plunder the market, with orders to put to death all those whom they found in it. More than three thousand persons—men, women, and children—were butchered on this occasion by these executioners, who carried to the governor several prisoners, among whom were people of distinction who had been created Roman knights. This title, however, did not save them from the cruelty of Florus, who caused them to be scourged before his tribunal, and afterwards crucified. Every body deserted this unfortunate city; and above all the christians, who by this time were pretty numerous. The case was the same throughout the rest of Judea; every one fled from a proscribed land, inundated with blood, and covered with dead bodies. If the account given by historians be just, the number of the dead who were interred in the cities and different parts of the country is astonishing: twenty thousand at Cæsarea; forty thousand at Jotapa; fifty thousand at Alexandra; twenty-three thousand at Scythopolis; without reckoning those who perished by surprise, by ambuscades, and sudden rencounters;—a kind of war exceedingly destructive.

The accounts transmitted from all quarters of the horrid scenes by which the unhappy country was laid waste, made Nero, at length, resolve to employ every means in his power to subdue it. As this war required a man of courage and talents, the emperor gave the command to Vespasian, already known by an almost similar expedition to Germany. He advanced into the kingdom, according to the rules of the military art; took possession of the strong places, and drove to the centre of the country those whom religious zeal, or the fear of being punished for their barbarities, prevented from surrendering themselves to the Romans: in general, they were called zealots. But the number of those who made religion a pretence was greater than that of those who had taken up arms through real attachment to their religious principles. Several of these people being filled with horror on account of the infamous conduct of their colleagues, abandoned that infernal body, so that at last none remained but desperate banditti, who retained the once honourable name of zealots. They are described as haughty, ambitious, and cruel men, who committed with cool deliberation the most horrible crimes for the glory of God, who would have been offended, they said, if his people had submitted to the authority of pagans.

Their first chiefs were Zacharias and Eleazar, who took possession of the temple, from which they

sallied forth at different times on the city. Ananus, who had been high-priest, assisted by the people over whom he retained some influence, expelled them from the outer cincture; but having unfortunately admitted into his confidence one John, the son of Levi, this man, by pretending to espouse the moderate party, only sought for an opportunity of betraying him. Ananus sent him to make proposals to the zealots for an accommodation; but, instead of inducing them to accept the terms offered, John advised them to remain firm, and to call in to their assistance the Idumæans, or the zealots who resided in the country. These people arrived, and found means to introduce themselves into the temple. There was no kind of cruelty then which the two bands united did not exercise towards the opposite party. As they thought speedy death too mild, they endeavoured to bring the art of torturing to perfection, and never deprived their enemies of life till the excess of their lingering torments had deprived them of all sensation. It is to be observed, that to cover these murders with the veil of justice, they established a kind of tribunal, before which they made their victims appear; but when the decision did not please them they butchered them on the spot. "This acquittal," said they ironically, "is more certain than that of the judges."

Twelve thousand persons were destroyed during this first massacre, the greater part of whom were

people of distinction; and in the flower of their age. The fury of the zealots was extended not to the populace, who were all in their favour, but to the artificers, and those in easy circumstances. The appearance even of opposition to them in any point was a capital crime. Those who remained inactive were their spies. Whoever did not applaud their infamous actions were considered as ill affected towards them; but those who were accounted rich, or who offended a zealot, were sure to perish. People durst neither emit a sigh, nor shed a tear for their friends who had been massacred; nor even commit their bodies to the earth. Their barbarity had extinguished in the persecuted every other sentiment but fear. The Idumæans, at last, became tired of these horrors, and all of them, a few excepted, abandoned the zealots, after setting at liberty two thousand prisoners.

Besides motives of humanity which made them quit Jerusalem, the Idumæans were recalled to their own country by the ravages of the chief of a new party. This chief, named Simon, an ambitious and enterprizing young man, to increase his followers, set at liberty the slaves, and conferred rewards on the free. He thus formed an army, which gave the zealots uneasiness, because Simon shewed that he had some design of making himself master of Jerusalem. Several skirmishes took place between the two parties; but as Simon

had not yet found a moment sufficiently favourable, he retired to Idumæa. The Idumæans, to the number of twenty thousand, marched against him, and a battle took place which was not decisive; but Simon, who was as artful as brave, found means to give his enemies a general, who delivered up to him the Idumæan army, according to a convention previously settled between them.

While Simon was employed in Idumæa, the zealots of Jerusalem, who sometimes ventured without the walls, got possession of his wife; and they imagined, that in order to recover her, he would agree to any conditions they might think proper to impose: they were however deceived. Simon posted himself with his army before the gates of Jerusalem; and by his cruelties struck such a terror into his enemies, that they were happy to give up his wife.

The zealots had no longer Zacharias and Eleazar for their chiefs. John, who betrayed the confidence of Ananus, had supplanted them; but by his deceitful conduct he offended a great part of his followers, who chose as chief a priest named Eleazar. As John, notwithstanding this division of his forces, did not become more tractable, the people were so much dissatisfied that they introduced Simon into the city, by which means the number of the chiefs was increased to three. Eleazar occupied the court of the priests, which

was the most advantageous post ; but he had only two thousand four hundred men, whom he was not able to maintain but by the offerings of the faithful. The court of the people, which was much larger, contained under John six thousand, for whom he was obliged to procure provisions by continual sallies. On these occasions, as he set every thing on fire, he reduced to ashes a great deal of corn and other provisions, which might have assisted the inhabitants to sustain the siege for several years. Simon, who with six thousand zealots, and five thousand Idumæans; was master of the city, intercepted on the other hand the provisions destined for John, by whose address these three chiefs were soon reduced to two. During a solemn festival he mixed among those who entered the priest's court to deposit their offerings a sufficient number of soldiers, who made themselves masters of the gates.

Such was the state of Jerusalem on the accession of Vespasian to the empire, after the death of Nero. This prince entrusted to his son the siege of the city, for which he had made the necessary preparations. The festivals had brought thither a multitude of Jews, whom the zealots incorporated among their troops, partly with their own consent, and partly by force, and who thus served to increase the famine, and to render it more dreadful. They also contrived useless labours to detain workmen, whom they converted into soldiers or assassins.

sins. Titus began by making propofals, which John and Simon both rejected. Not that there was any agreement between these chiefs; on the contrary, they carried on war against each other with fury and obstinacy; but they united and assisted each other to repel the Romans. As much harmony prevailed between them, as can take place among banditti when they have occasion to plunder or to search for provisions.

The siege began with all that fury which is inspired by hatred on the part of the assailants, as well as on that of the besiegers. After trying gentle means in vain, Titus shewed himself inexorable and severe. All those who were taken with arms in their hand were affixed to the crosses. The zealots spread a report that the Romans inflicted this cruel punishment on those who surrendered, and Titus found it difficult to undeceive them; but when they were convinced of their error, many of the Jews endeavoured to escape to the Roman camp. It would appear that the zealots ought to have favoured this desertion to save their provisions; but this was so far from being the case, that the desire of involving others in their ruin, and even the whole world, had it been possible, made them keep strict guard to stop those who wished to escape: many of the unfortunate wretches who contrived to elude the centinels, found a new kind of danger among the Romans. It was found out that some of them had swallowed diamonds,

and pieces of gold. Avarice, which acknowledges no laws, induced the soldiers to rip up their bellies in order to find the treasure. More than two thousand perished before Titus was informed of this barbarity, but the guilty were too numerous to be punished.

At the same time that the zealots detained the people, and deprived them with the utmost cruelty of the few necessaries of life which remained, they forced open the houses, and if they found any provisions, they massacred the owners for attempting to keep these articles to themselves. If they found nothing, they subjected them to the most horrid tortures, to compel them to discover where they had concealed their provisions. On an occasion of this kind, these satellites, attracted by the smell, entered the house of an unfortunate mother, who was devouring her child to appease her hunger. "Yes," said she to them with every expression of rage, "yes, barbarians, this is my own son, in whose blood I have imbrued my hands. You have deprived me of every thing; take these wretched remains and eat. Have you less resolution than a woman? Or have you more compassion than a mother?" On hearing this horrid speech they fled, filled with consternation and horror.

It is astonishing that a whole nation should suffer themselves to be reduced to such extremities by a handful of desperadoes, far inferior in

number ; but the latter, besides being armed, had in their favour the illusion of the people, who were persuaded that God would not suffer his city and temple to fall into the hands of the prophane, and that he would at length come to their relief. Impostors, taught to assume the character of prophets, maintained them in these hopes even when every thing was in a desperate condition. One of them had so much the art of persuading these miserable wretches, that they repaired to the number of six thousand to an elevated part of the temple, to look out for the promised assistance.

Notwithstanding the obstinate resistance of the besieged, the Romans by repeated assaults, in which machines and fire were employed with equal success, established themselves in the city, or rather on heaps of ruins, covered with spectres extenuated by famine, who stretched out their hands to the chains, and their necks to the sword of the conqueror. The desolation of a city abandoned to the flames may be readily conceived. In vain did Titus endeavour to preserve the temple from the fury of the soldiers. The prophecies were accomplished. Not a stone of it was left upon another. He saved only the sacred vessels, and the instruments used in sacrifice, which served to ornament his triumph. Of the unfortunate inhabitants, some suffered for their obstinacy by the horrid punishment of the cross ; and others were sent into slavery, driven about like herds of cattle,

condemned to perish in the arena as gladiators, or to expire under the murderous teeth of ferocious animals at the public spectacles. According to the most moderate calculation, the number of those who perished by violent deaths during this war, in the small country of Judea, amounted to one million four hundred and four thousand four hundred and ninety, without including those who died of grief and famine, or victims to other scourges inseparable from so bloody a revolution.

John and Simon had prepared places of retreat so concealed, that it was impossible to find them. The former being compelled by famine to leave his abode, threw himself on the mercy of Titus, who granted him his life at the end of more than a month. Simon, also, after he had been almost forgotten, suddenly made his appearance on the ruins of the temple, like a kind of phantom, dressed in white, and with a mantle of purple. He was immediately seized, and put in chains. Both these chiefs were reserved for the triumph of Titus. After the ceremony, Simon was scourged and beheaded, and John was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; a dreadful lesson both for those who mislead, and for the people who suffer themselves to be seduced! Since that time the unfortunate Jews have been wandering about in all nations, objects of hatred and contempt.

Titus had been assisted in his conquest by the arms of Agrippa, and during the tediousness of the

siege amused by his sister Berenice. This princess had been married to a king of Arabia, whom she quitted for Philip, a prince of her own family; and from his arms she passed voluntarily into those of Herod her brother-in-law. By her great beauty, experience, and coquettish airs, she captivated the conqueror of Jerusalem, who carried her to Rome, where she remained as much mistress of his house as if she had been his wife. Some pretend, that he would have married her had he not been apprehensive that his alliance with a Jew would have excluded him from the empire. He, therefore, dismissed her much against her will. One of the best French poets has celebrated, with his usual elegance, the tender scene of their separation.

PARTHIANS.

Parthia, between the Indus, the Tigris, the Red Sea, and Mount Caucasus.

The situation of Parthia will be sufficiently established, by saying that the city of Ispahan, which at present is the capital of Persia, is built on the site of Hecatompylos, or the city with a hundred gates, the capital of Parthia. We should be deceived were we to believe that this empire, which made even Rome tremble, was confined within the narrow limits of the modern kingdom of Persia. It extended over almost all Asia. It is supposed that its ancient inhabitants, those Parthians so famous in history, were of Scythian extraction, and that driven from their own country,

under the name of Parthians, which means exiles, they settled in these sandy plains. The air here is pure and salubrious ; but the land is destitute of fertility.

The Parthians were a brave people, and ac- Manners. counted, with great justice, the best horsemen and archers in the world. They were accustomed from their infancy to mount on horseback, and to make use of the bow. Their manner of shooting behind them, and retiring, rendered their flight more formidable than their attack. From the age of twenty to that fifty they were obliged to serve in war, and the great appeared on horseback and armed even in the time of peace. Though hardy soldiers, they were not insensible to the attractions of pleasure, and the enjoyments of the table. Polygamy and marriage with sisters, and even with mothers, were permitted. They were acquainted neither with agriculture, navigation, nor commerce, being wholly occupied with military affairs. Those killed in battle were supposed to enjoy immortal happiness : a principle of belief exceedingly well calculated to render a nation warlike. Their religion was the same as that of the ancient Persians, who worshipped the sun, under the name of Mithras. To break their word they considered as a great infamy. Their kings were the vainest and the most absolute of monarchs. One of them, named Arfaces, in writing to Flavius Vespasian, styled himself the king

of kings. The Roman emperor smiled, and in his answer wrote : “ Flavius Vespasian to Arfaces “ king of kings.”

Arfaces I.
2699.

The name of Arfaces was hereditary among the Parthians, as that of Ptolemy among the Egyptians. The first who rendered this name celebrated, by being the founder of the monarchy, was, it is said, one of the principal noblemen of Bactria. He exhorted the Parthians, whom Alexander had subdued, to revolt from the Seleucidæ, his successors. Besides the country which he wrested from the Syrian government, he subdued Hyrcania, and other neighbouring provinces. Arfaces II. by whom he was succeeded, Priapatius, his grand-son, and Phraates, the successor of the latter, laid a foundation by their victories, for the reign of Mithridates, which ought to be considered as the epoch of the grandeur of this monarchy. His brother Phraates had left him the crown to the exclusion of his children, because he thought him more worthy of it. Mithridates did not deceive his hopes. He reduced under his government the Persians and Medes, as well as Mesopotamia, and extended his conquests farther in India than Alexander. He is entitled to praise for having, at that period, treated with respect a vanquished king, who was his prisoner. Firm and courageous, he possessed, at the same time, a mildness of disposition, which made him beloved by all those around him. We are assured, that he

examined with great attention the laws of all the people whom he conquered ; that he selected the best of them, which he formed into a code for the government of his empire ; and that he was both a good warrior, and an excellent legislator.

The reigns of five succeeding kings afford no important facts, unless we class under that head the kind of lesson given to Phraates II. by some mercenary Greeks, whom he had conquered ; and who, after being disarmed, were kept in a state of severe captivity. Having occasion for their assistance against the Scythians, he restored their arms ; but being less affected by this forced kindness than the former insult, they turned them against him, and did him great hurt. It is a mistaken notion, to believe that the reparation of an injury makes friends of those whom we have offended.

The invasion of Parthia by Crassus took place ^{Orodes,} in the time of Orodes. It is generally allowed ²⁹⁴⁴ that avarice alone induced the Roman general to undertake this expedition. He was, however, exceedingly rich ; but he said that a Roman citizen could not be considered as wealthy, unless he was in a condition to maintain an army. It ought to be remarked also, that he was already pretty far advanced in life. He thought proper to ridicule Dejotarus king of Galatia, because when an old man he had begun to build a city. “ It is rather

“ a little too late,” said he, “ when one is at the
“ twelfth hour of the day.” This was the last
hour, according to the Roman way of reckoning,
“ And you,” replied Dejotarus, “ do not cer-
“ tainly begin your expedition against the Par-
“ thians too early in the morning.” As Dejotarus
meant only to build, he might have said that it is
never too late to begin a good work.

Orodes, when Crassus entered his territories,
sent to ask him what he wanted : “ I will give
“ you an answer at Seleucia,” said Crassus. The
envoy replied, shewing him the palm of his hand :
“ Before you are master of Seleucia, you will see
“ hair grow here.” Crassus had given proofs of
his good generalship under Sylla. He was be-
sides a man of letters, a philosopher, a learned
antiquarian, and well versed in history ; but it ap-
pears that science, which ought to have rendered
him modest, was of no service to him in the
war with the Parthians. He marched against
these people like a man confident of victory ; and
we have too many instances in history, that no
enemy is contemptible. That of the Parthians
will shew us also, that every general who makes
war in a manner new to his enemy is sure of tri-
umphing.

The king of the Parthians divided his forces
into two bodies. With one of these he marched
towards Armenia, to make a powerful diversion
in that country, the king of which had de-

clared for the Romans. The other body directed its course towards Mesopotamia, under the command of a general, named Surenas, descended from one of the oldest families of Parthia, and at that time about thirty-two years of age. He was distinguished by a majestic figure, an affable countenance, and the most amiable manners. To these qualities were united wisdom in council, the impetuosity necessary to lead on such troops as those which he commanded, and prudence to restrain them.

The confidence which Crassus placed in a treacherous guide, led the Romans into a rugged country, where marching became exceedingly laborious. Provisions could not be procured, but with great difficulty; no water was to be found; and they arrived, as Surenas wished, after being sadly harassed, in an open sandy plain, not far from the city of Carrhæ, in Mesopotamia. Surenas then appeared with his army, drawn up in the order of battle. The Romans advanced, as usual, with great impetuosity, to penetrate the enemy's ranks; but in an instant this whole army vanished, and none of them were seen, but a few roving troops, and detachments of archers and slingers, who in turns annoyed them with showers of stones and of arrows. If the Romans advanced to repulse one body they immediately retired, and returned to the charge as soon as they had rejoined the main army. The unfortunate Romans

thus found themselves attacked without having the means of defense. They were even ignorant of the quarter from which the greatest danger was to be apprehended, because the Parthian horses raised thick clouds of dust, which tended greatly to favour their sudden irruptions.

The flower of the Roman army first perished with young Crassus, who commanded under his father, to whom the Parthians presented the head of his son stuck on a pike. The Romans were thrown into great consternation by this horrid spectacle. The unfortunate father, suppressing his grief, ran from rank to rank, crying out — “Soldiers, this misfortune concerns me alone. Rome is invincible, if you remain firm, and undaunted.” These words, however, were drowned by the cries of the unfortunate soldiers, who were filled with the fury of despair, as their courage was so depressed that they had lost all hopes. If the officers exhorted them to advance, that they might extricate themselves from their dangerous situation, they shewed their hands nailed to their buckles, and their feet fixed to the ground with arrows. They had been some time in expectation that this murderous cloud would be exhausted; but they observed, with the utmost grief, that the Parthians were followed by carriages, loaded with arrows and darts. Their despair was now increased. They tore with fury from their bodies the arrows with which they had been

pierced, and with their barbed points, drew after them their bowels. Crassus was so much affected, that he wished to die in the field of battle, but he was carried off by his officers. They made a kind of retreat, which was favoured by the night; because the Parthians were so superstitious, or so prudent, as not to combat in the dark. Their flight was retarded by the feeble state of the wounded, and the lamentable supplications of those whom they abandoned.

The remains of the army might have escaped, had not a traitor, whom Crassus took for his guide, conducted them into a marsh, from which it was difficult for them to extricate themselves. Surenas appeared, and demanded a conference with the consul, who at first hesitated; but he was urged by his soldiers in such a manner, that he could not refuse: "You see," said he to his officers, "to what indignities I am exposed; but when you have got to a place of safety, tell the whole world, for the honour of Rome, our dear country, that Crassus perished, deceived by his enemies, and not abandoned by his soldiers." He then resigned himself to his fate, and proceeded to the place of interview. It is not known whether it was compassion, or the bitter spirit of raillery, which induced Surenas to say on this occasion: "What do I see?—A Roman general on foot, and we on horseback! Let a horse be brought for him immediately."

Craffus replied, with great presence of mind—
“There is no reason for being surprized. We
“are come only to an interview, each after the
“manner of his country.” Surenas then said ;
“There shall be henceforth a peace between
“Orodes and the Romans ; but we must sign
“the articles of it on the banks of the Eu-
“phrates.” At the same time, some domestics
placed the consul on a horse, which they began to
whip with great violence, in order to make him
quicken his pace. The Romans who had ac-
companied Craffus endeavoured to oppose this
violence, and one of them seized the bridle, which
a Parthian attempted to wrest from him. A
scuffle then ensued, in which swords were drawn
on both sides ; and in the confusion Craffus was
wounded and fell. It is not known whether he
was killed by a Parthian, or by his own soldiers,
to prevent him falling into the hands of the
enemy. The rest of the army surrendered at
discretion. It was one of the finest ever raised by
the republic ; and for the first time the Romans
were detained in captivity with ten thousand
men.

As Surenas was not able to triumph over the
person of Craffus he triumphed over his phan-
tom. Having found a Roman, named Paccianus,
who had a great resemblance to Craffus, he was
made to mount a beautiful horse, preceded by
twelve false lictors. His guards rode on camels,

and had empty purses suspended from their girdles, while the bloody heads of several Roman soldiers carried on the points of lances served as trophies. The march was closed by a company of prostitutes, who by loose songs stigmatized the memory of Crassus. When this insulting procession was ended, Surenas produced, in presence of the senate of Seleucia, a collection of lascivious tales, known under the name of the Milesian Fables, found among the baggage of a young Roman: "Behold!" said the Parthian; "these are the works which the Romans put into the hands of their youth. You may thence judge of the corruption of their manners, and what the soldiers must be who have acquired such a taste for debauchery." There is a great difference, indeed, between loving pleasure, like Surenas, who could indulge in it on certain occasions, and kindling up, by infamous means, dormant passions, which would soon become extinct.

Surenas did not long survive this insulting triumph. Either through jealousy, or on account of some other political reasons, Orodes caused him to be put to death, though he had been indebted to him for the throne. This prince, when the head of Crassus was presented to him, ordered melted gold to be poured into its mouth, as if to reproach him for the avarice which had induced him to come and disturb the repose of the Parthians. Being no longer commanded by Surenas,

these people sustained several checks from the Romans, who had entered Syria to revenge the death of Crassus; but the latter, in their turn, experienced defeats from Pacorus, the son of Orodes, a young prince distinguished by his justice, bravery, and clemency, and endowed with qualities which made his death to be much regretted by the people whom he had conquered. This event, which took place in a battle against the Romans, occasioned great grief to his father Orodes, and was so much the more fatal to the Parthians, as the king, who had destined his crown to so virtuous a prince, placed it on the head of Phraates, the most unworthy of his children.

Phraates,
2963.

Orodes, who was so weak as to share his throne with Phraates, had the misfortune to see one of his wives and his children fall under the murdering sword of that monster. The king having complained of this conduct, the son caused poison to be administered to his father; but, contrary to his expectation, it cured the old man of the dropsy. Phraates then caused him to be strangled; and sent to the grave with him a great number of his brothers, and his own son, whose merit he dreaded. This unnatural prince possessed great talents as a warrior; and it was, perhaps, on account of this quality that he was chosen by his unfortunate father, to assist him when hard pressed by Ventidius, the lieutenant of Anthony. That general gained victories by which he obtained

triumphal honours at Rome. He was partly indebted for them to the jealousy of Anthony, who, beholding with an evil eye the success of his lieutenant, sent him to triumph at Rome, in order that he might assume his place in the army. The glory he expected was attached, however, to the standards of Phraates, who forced the Romans to make a long and difficult retreat, which cost Anthony a great many men; but which was not disgraceful, because he displayed on that occasion the talents of an able general.

The advantages which Phraates might have derived from his victory were interrupted by a conspiracy of the Parthian nobility, who were discontented with their king. They expelled him, and substituted Tiridates in his stead; but Phraates returned, and displaced his rival; he, however, found himself so insecure, that he requested the support of Augustus, to whom Tiridates had applied also for assistance. Phraates purchased the neutrality of the emperor, by restoring to him the standards and Roman eagles taken from Crassus. Augustus claimed as much honour from the restitution of these trophies, as if he had gained a great victory. Tiridates obtained only an asylum at Rome, where he saw four of the sons of Phraates, whom that prince, according to some, sent thither as hostages, and according to others, as victims to the policy of a mother-in-law. This woman, named Thermusa, from being the concubine of

Phraates, became his lawful spouse, and acquired an absolute ascendancy over her husband. She persuaded him to send his children to Rome, under the pretence that they would have an opportunity of receiving there a better education. The husband and wife, as sometimes happens, concealed from each other their real sentiments. Phraates made them set out because he was afraid of them; and Thermusa was the cause of their exile, in order that she might procure the crown to Phraates, her son. As soon as she saw him of age she poisoned her husband; but the Parthians, when they discovered the crime committed by his mother, expelled him from the throne. He was succeeded by Orodes II. of the race of the Arsacidæ, whose tyranny was so insupportable, that they put him to death during an entertainment, and requested Augustus to give them for their sovereign one of the children of Phraates. Vonones, whom he sent to them for that purpose, being entirely Roman in his manners and dress, gave them great offense: "We will not obey," said they, "a Roman slave;" and they offered the crown to Artabanus, the king of Media, who was also of the race of the Arsacidæ.

Artabanus.

As Vonones had a party to support him, he hazarded an engagement with Artabanus, and was defeated. He then solicited the protection of the Roman governors in the neighbourhood of Parthia; but being referred from the one to the

other, he wandered about with disgrace, through Armenia and Syria, and was at last assassinated in Cilicia. The partisans of Artabanus having become dissatisfied with that prince, demanded from Tiberius another of the children of Arsaces. The emperor sent them one, and procured for him a powerful diversion from Mithridates and Pharasmenes, two brothers, the kings of Iberia and Armenia, who kept Artabanus in occupation, while the Romans advanced into Parthia with the new monarch. The latter died of a disease, but Artabanus was defeated by Pharasmenes, and lost not only the Parthian sceptre, but his paternal kingdom. We do not find that Pharasmenes profited by his victory, since the Romans again raised to the throne Tiridates, the ancient rival of Phraates; but he maintained himself on it no better than he had done before. Artabanus was re-instated; was dethroned once more, and again restored by the assistance of Izates, the king of Adiabene, who effected a reconciliation between him and his subjects. The people did not repent of having suffered themselves to be appeased. Artabanus, who had hitherto been an odious tyrant, became a good king, distinguished himself by his moderation and justice, and was much regretted when he died. He had a great many children; two of whom, Gotarzes and Bardanes, placed themselves on the throne. They had already fought; and when they were about to proceed again to hostili-

ties, they were reconciled by a conspiracy formed against them. Gotarzes was even so magnanimous as to resign the crown to his brother, because he believed him to be more capable of wearing it than himself; but he had cause to repent of his condescension. Bardanes, however, was sufficiently strong to prevent him from making any attempts against him. This prince extended his conquests as far as those places which had been the theatres of the first victories of Alexander, where he erected trophies; but the pride inspired by his success having rendered him insupportable to the principal nobility of his court, they put him to death during a hunting excursion. Bardanes would have been a great king had he possessed the art of causing himself to be as much beloved by his subjects as he was dreaded by his enemies.

Vologeses.

After his death, his brother Gotarzes assumed the crown, which was disputed with him by his brother Meherdates, a prince of the family of the Arfacidæ, whom the emperor Claudius supported with the Roman forces; but notwithstanding this protection Meherdates was defeated. Gotarzes, though he spared his life, caused his ears to be cut off, in order to shew his contempt for the Romans. Vologeses, his successor, maintained a bloody war against them, on account of the crowns of Armenia and Syria, which he had given to Tiridates and Pacorus, two of his brothers. Corbulo deprived Tiridates of that of Armenia,

and placed it on the head of Tigranes, a Cappadocian. Vologeses and Corbulo entertained so high an opinion of each other's talents, that they never ventured to come to an engagement. They made proposals for peace, which were mutually accepted. Vologeses consigned to Nero the honour of crowning his brother Tiridates publicly at Rome, as if he had made him a present of that kingdom, which the Parthian possessed. By means of this deference good understanding was restored between the two empires.

This state of tranquillity continued till Cosd- Cosdroes. roes, the third successor of Vologeses, brought against the Parthians the arms of Trajan, by driving from the throne of Armenia Exadares, who had been raised to it by that emperor. Trajan effected a division among the Parthians, by exciting against Cosdroes a rival, named Parthaspates. The Romans entered the kingdom of Parthia, like an impetuous torrent, which Cosdroes suffered to run off, after having in vain attempted to check its course. Parthaspates had attached himself to Trajan like a shadow, and with him disappeared. Cosdroes recovered his power, and transferred it to his son Vologeses II. Being weakened by the Romans, this prince consented to confine himself to a few provinces, and to submit to the humiliation of doing homage. His son Vologeses III. was desirous of extricating himself from this abject state; but the emperor Severus

kept him under the yoke, and carried away his treasures, his wives, and his children: Vologeses himself escaped.

These expeditions cost a great deal of bloodshed to the Romans, without any real advantage. As they had not sufficient strength to preserve their conquests, the inhabitants, faithful to the name of the Arsacidæ, shook off the yoke as soon as the Roman armies had retired; so that their victories contributed only to weaken the Parthians, without extending their own empire. The inutility of their efforts did not, however, damp their ardour. A kind of emulation prevailed among the successors of Trajan to decorate themselves with the title of Parthicus, which Caracalla obtained, by a method unknown to his predecessors, and much more expeditious than any ever before employed.

Artabanus
IV.

Vologeses being succeeded by his brother Artabanus, Caracalla sent ambassadors to demand his daughter in marriage. This request was readily granted; and a little time after the emperor announced by another embassy that he was about to depart, in order to celebrate the ceremony at the court of Artabanus. The Parthian, with the flower of the nobility, went to meet him unarmed, as if they had been going to an entertainment; but Caracalla, with the escort by which he was attended, fell upon this peaceful company, and, having taken from them a great booty, was

authorized by the senate to assume the name of Parthicus. Artabanus escaped from this danger with great difficulty, swore irreconcilable hatred to the perfidious emperor, and inspired into the whole nation the same spirit of vengeance. At that time its force was respectable; yet in one single battle it was reduced to a state of extreme weakness. This bloody action between the Parthians and the Romans continued two days. Both parties had suspended their efforts on the approach of night. When they separated, each shouted out victory, and lay upon their arms. The field of battle was already covered with the bodies of forty thousand dead; but when Artabanus was requested to put an end to this long carnage, he replied: "We have only begun." Being determined to perish with the last of the Parthians, or to exterminate the whole Roman army, as soon as it was light, on the morning of the third day, he caused the charge to be sounded, upon which the Roman general sent to inform him that Caracalla was assassinated, and that as the traitor had been punished for his crime all dissension between them was now at an end. The king of the Parthians listened to the voice of peace, and consented to a treaty, the conditions of which were advantageous to his nation.

These conditions, however, were not able to heal the deep wound given to the Parthian empire by this destructive battle, in which the bravest

warriors of the nation had perished. The Persians, who, after bearing the Macedonian yoke, had for five hundred years been subject to the Parthians, without being destroyed, took advantage of this opportunity to resume the empire of the country which they inhabited. They assembled in great numbers, and fought several battles with the Parthians. After prodigies of valour displayed on both sides, victory declared itself irrevocably for the Persians. Artabanus was killed, and his army dispersed. The Parthians, finding themselves without chiefs, became incorporated, in their turn, with those people who, we may say, had been incorporated with them, when their first king formed an empire of the Persian provinces wrested from the successors of Alexander. Under these Persians it was the same empire, but invigorated and revived.

PERSIANS.

Artaxares,
after Christ,
230.

This change was effected by a man whose birth was attended with singular, if not fabulous, circumstances. A shoemaker of the Caduceans, named Pabec, who was exceedingly well versed in judicial astrology, happened once to give lodging in his house to an officer called Safan. As he perceived by his art, that a person begotten by this stranger would one day attain to the highest honours, and would be the chief of a powerful family, he was exceedingly mortified that he had

neither a daughter, nor any other female relation, whom he might offer to him in marriage. Ambition at length surmounting his shame, he caused his wife to go to bed to Safan, who begat on her Artaxares. When Artaxares came afterwards to be king, Pabec and Safan each claimed him for a son; and when the story became public, it was agreed, that he should be styled "the son of Pabec of the seed of Safan."

After being firmly established on the throne, he resolved to unite under his dominion all those places which had been formerly attached to the Persian empire. As the greater part of them were in the hands of the Romans, Artaxares sent ambassadors to the emperor, if we can give that title to four hundred picked men, of extraordinary size and strength, dressed in the most superb manner. These messengers were taught, word by word, what they ought to say, and they strictly conformed to their orders. When introduced to the emperor, they addressed him as follows: "The great king Artaxares orders the Romans and their prince to evacuate Syria, and all Asia Minor; and to restore to the Persians the whole country on this side the Ægean sea and the Pontus Euxinus, as it was the property of their ancestors." This harangue was not agreeable to Severus. As the ambassadors were strong and robust, he destined them to cultivate lands which he assigned to them in Phrygia; and he

caused them to be stripped of their rich dress, in order that he might give them one more agreeable to their new state. This bravado of Artaxares was not attended with that success which he expected; and notwithstanding his insulting threat, he was obliged to act on the defensive. We must not, however, believe by the triumph of Severus at Rome, and the proud titles of Parthicus and Persicus which he assumed, that his success was of great importance. Artaxares recovered all the provinces which had been taken from him at the commencement of the expedition; and died, after a glorious reign of twelve years, admired and regretted.

Sapor, 242.

His son Sapor saw his states invaded by the emperor Gordian the younger. They were restored to him by Philip; but he afterwards regretted that he had done so, and retook them. Sapor was again attacked by the emperor Valerian, and taken prisoner. The emperor, after having made him march in an ignominious manner at the head of his army, and having sometimes used him as a step to get on horseback, by placing his foot on his neck, caused him, it is said, to be flayed alive. This cruelty is credible of a man who ordered his prisoners to be thrown into the hollow parts of the highways to render them level, and to facilitate the passage of his carriages. We are told that, notwithstanding this insulting barbarity, Aurelian, the successor of Valerian, gave his daughter

to Sapor in marriage. But every thing may be accommodated among princes. In the train of this princess there were two Greek physicians, who carried the writings of Hippocrates into the East. Under Sapor lived Manes, who wished to adapt to the Christian religion the idea of two principles, to explain the origin of good and evil.

Hormisdas, the son of Sapor, is known only by ^{Hormisdas, 273.} his disgraceful conduct, in not assisting Zenobia, the queen of Palmyra, and in having suffered her to be dragged in triumph and captivity by Aurelian. His son, Varanes I. reigned only a year. The emperor Probus made the same bravadoes to his successor, Varanes II. as Artaxares had made to Severus. He replied to the ambassador, who came to offer him presents, and to solicit for peace: "Every thing that your master has is mine, and I can take possession of it when I please." He, indeed, did so; but he thought proper to abandon his conquests, which Varanes recovered. His son, Varanes III. was succeeded by Narses. This prince beat the emperor Galerius, who had not been sufficiently on his guard. Narses fell into the same error, and was beaten in his turn. His successor, Hormisdas II. left no resource for the monarchy but the very ambiguous hope arising from the pregnancy of his wife. The nobility having asked the magi what the child would be, they confidently replied, a son.

This son was Sapor II. He was educated with ^{Sapor II. 303.}

great care, and, as is believed, in the christian religion, which he afterwards abjured. It is very remarkable, that one of the greatest wars ever carried on by the Persians was between two apostates and persecutors of religion, Sapor and Julian. The latter made an attack at an improper time, and suffered for his rashness, as Anthony had done before, and almost in the same country. He gave his confidence to a traitor, who led him along roads where his army was exposed to great disasters ; but being more unfortunate than Anthony, he blindly followed perfidious advice, which deprived him of every resource. He might have caused his fleet, which was laden with provisions, to accompany him on the Tigris ; but some one persuaded him that such a circuitous march would lead him too far from the enemy, who would thus have time to fortify themselves ; that it would be much better to advance straight towards them, which could be done in two or three days ; that the soldiers, without being fatigued, might carry the provisions necessary for this short expedition ; and that to prevent his army being weakened, by leaving a guard to protect his fleet, it would be proper to burn it. Julian, whose judgement and prudence have been justly extolled, shewed a deficiency of both on this important occasion. While his fleet was in flames, he had convincing proofs that he had been deceived ; but, instead of retreating, as he might have done, he followed the

dangerous route pointed out to him, and falling in with the Persians was defeated and killed. Jovian, his successor, immediately entered into a treaty with Sapor, and in exchange for money received peace and provisions.

Sapor had four sons, one of whom displeased Artaxerxes. him, and another had retired to the Romans. To a third he had given a tent of camels' skins, enriched with gold, and painted in a beautiful manner: "What do you think of it?" said he to his son. "It is exceedingly beautiful," replied he; "but when I am king, I shall have one made of the skins of men." By this speech he was deprived of the crown. His father, disgusted with his answer, placed on the throne his fourth son, Sapor III. who, as well as Varanes IV. lived on peaceable terms with the Romans.

Ildigertes was so intimately connected with Arcadius, the emperor of the West, that this prince at his death appointed him the protector of his son, Theodosius II. and of the empire. Ildigertes, 401. The Persian sent to superintend the education of his friend's son the eunuch Antiochus, a man of great prudence and experience, who was, no doubt, a christian, for there were a great many of that persuasion at the court of Ildigertes, who is believed to have been one himself. Under his successor, Varanes V. owing to the indiscreet zeal of a christian, who set fire to a Persian temple, war with the Romans was recommenced. The

troops of the Persian monarch were commanded by a general named Narfes, who sent a challenge, it is said, to the Roman general, desiring him to fix a day when the armies should meet in the field of battle: "The Romans," replied the latter, "fight when they think proper, and not when their enemies find it most convenient for themselves." Varanes called in to his assistance the Saracens, a people who then appeared in these countries for the first time. Under this prince the christian religion obtained favour in Persia, by the beneficent charity of Acafes, the bishop of Amida. As the Romans had crowded into that city seven thousand Persian prisoners, without providing for their subsistence, the bishop of Amida, and his clergy, sold the gold and silver vessels of the church; fed the prisoners with the produce, during the whole war; and, when peace was concluded, gave them money to enable them to return. Varanes invited this charitable bishop to his court; received him with the greatest testimonies of respect; and on his account granted many indulgences to the christians.

Peroses,
558.

Under Peroses the Huns became known in the empire. These people lived to the north of Persia; and were not destitute of civilization, as they had cities, and a certain form of government. Peroses penetrated into their country; but he did not return from it with the same ease that he entered it. He was surrounded by the inhabitants,

and reduced to the necessity of promising never to molest them in future, and to do homage to their king. The Persian monarch was desirous to find out some means, by which he might perform this humiliating act without debasing himself. The magi freed him from his embarrassment by bidding him enter the tent of the king of the Huns at sun-rise; "and thus," said they, "while you prostrate yourself before that luminary, the king will conceive it to be an act of submission to him." Perofes executed the treaty with the same good faith as he performed the ceremony of rendering homage. He attempted to surprize the Huns; but was defeated, and killed in the action.

The weak Valens, who succeeded, not being able to free himself from the tribute which the Huns had imposed on Persia, died of grief. Cavades, his successor, undertook to efface this shame, and his attempts were fortunate, but his victories rendered him haughty and enterprizing, even in his own kingdom, the constitution of which he was desirous to change. Nothing but the most manifest folly could have induced him to order, by an edict, that no woman of his empire should refuse her favours to any man who might ask them. This act alone deserved the treatment which he experienced from the great. They placed him in a state of confinement, and gave the crown to one of his relations, named Zambades.

The first care of the new king was to convoke a

general assembly of the nobility, to decide the fate of Cavades. The people had declared the person of the monarch sacred, yet the sentiments of the assembly were divided in regard to the conduct of Gufanastades, one of the principal nobility, who drawing from his pocket a small knife, which he generally used for pairing his nails, said : “ This “ knife, properly employed, would render us a “ service which cannot be performed by twenty “ thousand, if we suffer the present opportunity “ to escape.” But the cruel policy of Gufanastades did not prevail. It was unanimously determined that Cavades, as he had forfeited his authority by the odious use he made of it, should be confined in prison during the remainder of his life, and that Zambades should reign in his stead. This prince possessed all those qualities which are requisite to sustain the weight of a crown with glory. Being a prudent man, of a mild disposition, and a friend to good order, he thought of nothing but rendering his people happy.

As the queen had not been shut up with Cavanades, this princess, the only person who did not abandon him in his misfortune, carried him whatever he stood in need of, but without obtaining permission to see him. The officer by whom he was guarded having conceived a passion for her, gave her leave to write to her husband. She then requested that she might be allowed to visit him ; but the jailor to this favour

attached certain conditions. The queen informed her husband, who desired her to flatter a passion which might be of so much utility to them both. She, at last, obtained an interview, in which Cavades learned that a faithful friend, named Sefoses, had in readiness a body of guards, who, as soon as he should make his escape, would accompany him wherever he might think proper. In consequence of this precaution, the necessary measures being concerted, the queen dressed herself in the king's clothes, and the latter escaped in the dress of a female. He took refuge with the king of the Huns, who received him with great friendship, gave him his daughter in marriage, and placed an army at his disposal. The queen, who remained a prisoner instead of her husband, and whose conduct is entitled, at least, to admiration, was treated rather with severity than clemency.

Cavades, who during his retirement among the Huns had kept up a correspondence with some of the Persian nobility, found means to return to his own kingdom. He promised the government of provinces to those who should first come and render him homage. As governments were generally continued in families, this promise occasioned a kind of division, because each endeavoured to obtain the preference. This emulation soon swelled the number of his partisans, by whose assistance he obtained complete success, and entered his capital in triumph. Cavades caused Zambades to

be deprived of sight, put to death Gusanaftades, and created Sefofes lieutenant-general of his kingdom.

The faction who dethroned Cavades had no reason to repent that they did not carry their cruelty so far as to put him to death. On the contrary, they had cause to rejoice that they preserved the life of a prince, who restored to the kingdom of Persia its ancient splendour. It must, however, be confessed that he began his victories by an act of injustice. The king of the Huns, his father-in-law, who had advanced large sums of money to enable him to re-establish himself on the throne, demanded payment. As the emperor Anastasius possessed great riches, the king of Persia requested from him a loan, and on his refusal, declared war against him, or rather began it very abruptly by the siege of Amida, a very opulent city. It made a long defense; but Cavades at length took it, and acquired immense booty. This prince having allowed his soldiers to massacre a great many of the inhabitants, one of them had the boldness to represent to him that it was unworthy of a hero to behave with cruelty to men who no longer made resistance: "Why," said the king, in a passion, "did you dare to defend yourself against me?" "Because God," replied the Amidean, "was desirous that you should be indebted for the capture of Amida, not to your own will, but to your valour." This compliment ap-

peased the king ; he put an end to the carnage ; and some time after restored to the city its privileges, and caused its walls and public buildings to be repaired.

It appears that Cavades was not naturally wicked ; and that his first errors were owing rather to the effervescence of youth, than to the depravity of his character. In his life we find one action, respecting which no certain opinion can be formed. Sefoses, to whom he was indebted for his life, having been either guilty of some crime, or only suspected, Cavades suffered him to be accused, tried, and condemned, and even to be put to death. It is true, indeed, that he shed tears for his fate ; and that he expressed the deepest regret for having been obliged to abandon to the severity of the law a man to whom he was under so great obligations. The principal charge against Sefoses was, that he had caused the body of his wife to be interred, in contempt of the Persian religion, which ordered that the dead should be exposed to the birds ; but we find that about this period, Cavades, having thought proper to make the emperor of the East adopt one of his sons, for whom he destined the crown, Sefoses opposed this measure. As Sefoses, though a subject, had become so powerful as to defeat a project of such importance to his master, this supposed crime was much rather the cause of his death than the violation of a religious rite. In

that case, the tears of Cavades were the tears of an hypocrite : gratitude seldom induces princes to forgive an attempt against their power.

This plan of Cavades was formed in consequence of the state of the Eastern empire, attacked on all sides by an inundation of barbarians, and badly defended by the frontier provinces, the inhabitants of which often joined the invaders. Cavades wished to make the emperor sensible, that adoption would lay his son under the obligation of defending the empire as his own property ; and that by these means he would procure for himself the most powerful support ; but the latter was afraid that this adoption, instead of securing the unity of the empire, would tend to promote division, and to weaken it, on account of the right which the adopted prince might claim over some of the provinces, under a pretence that he had saved them from invasion. This affair of adoption, however, was so far advanced, that nothing more was necessary than the ceremony ; but it miscarried at the very moment when about to be concluded. The Persian wished that it might be performed in the Roman manner, in order to give it all the validity possible ; and the Romans were desirous of employing the method of the barbarians, with a view, no doubt, to leave some formal deficiencies, which, in case of necessity, might render it of no effect. The two parties could never come to an agreement on this point ; which,

after the difficulties surmounted in such a treaty, seems to be a mere trifle. The Romans had suffered it to proceed so far to gain time; but they were well acquainted with the means of rendering it abortive. Cavades, who was highly displeased on this account, recommenced the war, which he carried on some time, and then suffered himself to be appeased by a large sum of money. This was the most successful expedient which he employed against the Eastern empire, and he taught it to his son Chosroes, by whom it was much practised.

This prince was not the eldest son; but being of a haughty, warlike disposition, always occupied with great designs, which he conceived and executed with equal facility, he had obtained the favour of his father, who by his will appointed him his successor, to the prejudice of ^{Chosroes,} Caoses, his _{523.} eldest. This will was confirmed by the nation; and Chosroes was acknowledged monarch of Persia. Under his reign there are reckoned to have been no less than five treaties with the Eastern empire, the alternate progress of which was as follows: Chosroes declared war; carried it on at first with vigour, and acquired great booty. He afterwards kept on the defensive; and when he saw the empire harassed by other invaders, he offered it peace, by which means he obtained large sums of money. With this contribution he recruited and increased his armies, and renewed hostilities, without being at much trouble to give

a colour of justice to his pretences. If he experienced checks, his treasures enabled him to excite enemies to the empire, on some of its most remote frontiers. It was then necessary for it to diminish its means of defense and attack in Persia. Chosroes again offered peace, the conditions of which were still money. He carried his effrontery, we may say, so far as to send to Justinian to demand a share of the booty which he had suffered him to acquire: "Had I not left you at peace," said he, "your general Belisarius would not have gained so many victories in Africa; consequently, I am entitled to a part of the spoil." Justinian smiled; but he thought it would be improper to dismiss the ambassadors without giving them a handsome sum.

Such is the military life of Chosroes. It thence follows, that during a long reign he never ceased to harass his own subjects, as well as those of his neighbours. He, however, affected great compassion for the people, who experienced the misfortunes of war. The Roman ambassadors having explained to him, in a very pathetic manner, at a public audience, these calamities, he shed tears. They were shed to encourage the Persians, who beheld this sensibility, to assist him with vigour against Justinian, by whom he pretended to be attacked. In a word, it would be difficult to determine who was the most criminal. If Justinian justly reproached Chosroes for having in-

vited the Goths to invade the empire, and for having favoured their devastation, the latter proved, by authentic letters, that the emperor did not cease to instigate the Huns and the Saracens against Persia. The neighbouring petty kings, such as that of the Lazi, might therefore have cursed these great empires, which involved them, against their will, in their quarrels, to which they became victims. There is this difference between Justinian and Chosroes, that the Roman carried on war only by his lieutenants, while the Persian always appeared at the head of his armies; that he was an able general, brave, intrepid, and obstinate; and that he never suffered his lieutenants to undertake any thing except what he could not do himself.

After a conspiracy in the beginning of his reign, which he punished with great severity, Chosroes experienced no more uneasiness from the great men of his kingdom. The conspirators accused him of severity, capriciousness, despotism, and almost the same faults as those which had caused his father Cavades to be confined; and the least they proposed was to dethrone him in the like manner. They wished to substitute in his place one of his brothers named Zames; but this prince had lost the sight of an eye, and the Persians would never suffer in their monarchs the least bodily imperfection. A faction can always find means to remove the prejudices of the people against the unworthy,

or even detested object, to whose government it wishes to subject them. It was determined, therefore, that the throne should not be occupied by Zames, but by an infant son, to whom he should be tutor and counsellor, on condition that he himself would consent to be guided by the advice of the conspirators; that is to say, they wished to give the people a multitude of kings instead of one. Chosroes, who, if he was fond of money, knew also how to employ it, kept spies among the conspirators to give him daily notice of every thing that took place. He suffered them to carry on their plans unmolested, to acquire partisans, and to increase their number, that he might be able to distinguish his friends from his enemies; and when he saw them ready to carry their designs into execution, he caused them all to be seized, and put to death at the same time. Young Cavades alone escaped, because he was educated at a distance from the court by a virtuous old man, who abhorred shedding the blood of a child. This circumstance was disclosed some years after by the old man's son, who was afraid that if his father's disobedience should be made known to others he might lose the government, which by the punishment of his father would become vacant. Young Cavades was at this time in safety. Chosroes died of grief after the loss of a battle, which left his kingdom exposed to the Romans, who took up their winter quarters in it. This gave great un-

easiness to the old monarch, who had been accustomed to take up his among his enemies. He was in great danger of being made prisoner on this occasion, and, therefore, he expressly recommended to his son never to expose his person in a general action againk the Romans.

His son Hormisdas appears as an object worthy Hormisdas. of indignation and of pity, on account of the faults which he committed. He was so unfortunate as not to love his people, and to believe fortune-tellers, who assured him that whatever he might do his reign would be happy. He gave loose reins, therefore, to his passions; became cruel, haughty, and obstinate; and offended his subjects in every possible manner without the least dread. But this fatal security induced him to attempt every thing. He had an excellent general named Varamus; but after gaining some advantages, he experienced a defeat. Hormisdas, instead of pitying him, and reviving his courage, sent him a female dress, with an insulting letter. Varamus returned an answer, written in the same style, as if he had been addressing a female slave, and at the same time took measures for his own defense. He gained the affection of his army, and seduced a part of that which the king sent against him. The monarch retired to his capital; the principal cities revolted; and the inhabitants plundered, on all sides, the royal palaces. The prisons were opened, and among those who broke their chains was a prince

of the blood royal named Bindoes, whom Hormisdas, for a very trifling cause, had loaded with irons. This prince repaired to the army which had not joined the standards of Varamus, and was acknowledged its chief. He advanced at its head towards Ctesiphon, which he entered without difficulty, and proceeded to the palace, where he found Hormisdas seated on his throne, with all the appendages of his dignity. "What has brought you hither?" said Hormisdas to him; "and how did you escape from prison?" Bindoes made no other reply than to reproach him in the most insulting language. "Let him be arrested," cried Hormisdas.

Indignation here gave place to pity. The monarch's guards remained as if thunder-struck; and Bindoes, emboldened by this inactivity, rushed upon the king, tore the crown from his head, and caused him to be dragged to prison. Chofroes, the son of Hormisdas, though it was well known that he had no great attachment to his father, appeared to be under some fear; but Bindoes encouraged him by his promises. Hormisdas from his prison requested that he might be heard in an assembly of the nation. He was accordingly brought into the presence of his subjects, and having pleaded his own cause with all the energy of misfortune, seemed to have made some impression on the audience. Bindoes made a long and insulting answer to his speech, and concluded by re-

presenting to those who composed the tribunal, what they might expect if they should restore the person whom they had ventured to summon before them. This argument was conclusive. The unfortunate monarch being carried back to his dungeon, a red-hot iron was drawn over his eyes, to render him incapable of ever remounting the throne. He had requested that his son Chosroes, whose bad qualities he detailed, might not be appointed his successor, but his other son Hormisdas, who being a mild prince would render his people happy. The recommendation of those under misfortune is often a sentence of proscription. Hormisdas was put to death, together with his mother, and Chosroes was placed on the throne. His father, notwithstanding his blindness, gave him great uneasiness; and his reproaches, which he was not so prudent as to confine within the walls of his prison, were so galling to this unnatural son, that he caused him to be assassinated.

Varamus had taken no part in these changes, Chosroes II. but remained at the head of his army, resolved ^{589.} not to labour for another. Chosroes sent him flattering letters, filled with promises, and accompanied with valuable presents. Varamus, however, rejected them all, and in his answer assumed the title of the Scourge of Tyrants. He ordered Chosroes to lay aside the sceptre which he had usurped; and gave him to understand, that his object in continuing the war was to avenge his

king, and to punish a parricide. On account of this motive he acquired many partisans. The two rivals met in the field, and Chosroes was so completely defeated, that he with difficulty escaped by a circuitous route to one of the Roman advanced posts on the frontiers, where he met with a favourable reception. Varamus took possession of Ctesiphon, and caused Bindoes to be thrown into prison as the author of the last revolution. At the same time, he did not spare his accomplices; but he punished them without cruelty. He then ventured to assume, not the title of king, but the badges of that dignity, which displeased the nobility so much, that a plot was formed against him. Bindoes was released from prison, and the conspirators attacked Varamus in his palace during the night; but he defended himself with great bravery. Several of the nobility perished in the conflict, and some of them were condemned afterwards to be trod to death by elephants. Bindoes made his escape, and retired to Media, where he endeavoured to raise troops to second the efforts of Chosroes.

This fugitive found a powerful protector in the emperor Mauritius, who placed at his disposal all the troops of the empire on that frontier, under the command of Narfes, the ablest of his generals. Varamus experienced as complete a defeat as Chosroes, and like him fled almost alone, and sought shelter from a barbarous prince to the

north of Persia. He lived there some time, and was treated with a considerable degree of respect; but the fear of being attacked by Chosroes determined the barbarian to poison his host. Chosroes had amused the people of the capital by spectacles and entertainments, when he ornamented his forehead with the bloody diadem of his father. He employed the same policy to make the people forget the mild government of Varamus; but he spared none of the great from whom he thought he had any thing to fear, nor even those who had been favourable to him.

In his adversity he had shewn so much respect for the christian religion, as gave reason to believe that he preferred it to his own. He assumed also the Roman dress, spoke the Roman language, and adopted the Roman manners, in order, no doubt, to preserve the good-will of the emperor Mauritius; but when he had no longer need of it, he altered his conduct. Chosroes II. is accounted one of the great persecutors of the christians. In regard to the Romans, that is to say, the subjects of the empire of Constantinople, the emperors of which always retained the title of Roman emperors though they were Greeks, Chosroes being re-established by their assistance, behaved to them with a great deal of cool indifference. Narfes, when he took leave of him before he quitted his states, having represented to him how much he was bound not to forget the services of the em-

peror Mauritius, and the Romans, of whom this general spoke as if they had been the masters of the world, he replied modestly, that he would never forget their services; but he gave him to understand, that he did not think the Roman power, of which Narses had drawn a magnificent picture, was so formidable as he represented it. At the same time, he stated the reasons which induced him to entertain this opinion, and foretold so exactly the decline and subversion of the empire, that the Greek historians have quoted him as a great astrologer; but he was only a man of wisdom and penetration, who being thoroughly acquainted with the destructive causes inherent in that empire, was able, by the strength of his judgment, to trace out the stages of its weakness, and to foresee its last catastrophe. A faint sense of shame prevented him from participating in the spoils of the empire as long as his benefactor lived, though he shewed a desire of obtaining his share; but the death of Mauritius, who was assassinated, afforded him an opportunity of carrying his arms into the empire, under the pretence of avenging the death of his friend. It evidently appears, however, that this was not the real cause; since, instead of joining the Roman generals, and particularly Narses, who had declared against Phocas, the murderer of Mauritius, he attacked them all without distinction.

One cannot help being astonished at the extent

of the conquests of Chofroes, and the shortness of the time in which they were acquired and lost. In the sixteenth year of his reign he laid under contribution all the flat country on the Roman frontiers. Next year he took possession of the fortresses. In the eighteenth he plundered Mesopotamia and Syria. In the nineteenth he passed the Euphrates, carried desolation throughout the rest of Syria, which he had before spared, and through Palestine and Phœnicia. The twentieth is remarkable on account of the ravage of Cappadocia and Armenia, and the entire defeat of a Roman army, which opened for him Galatia and Paphlagonia, as far as Chalcedon. Two years after Chofroes took Apamea and Edeffa, blockaded Antioch, and gained so complete a victory, that scarcely any of the conquered were left to mourn for the dead. The following year he took Cæsarea, and carried away a great number of Syrian captives. In the twenty-fifth year he made himself master of Damascus, and dismissed in an ignominious manner, without an answer, the ambassadors sent to him by the emperor Heraclius to demand peace. In the twenty-sixth he conquered Judea; took and plundered the city of Jerusalem; carried to Persia the patriarch, with the real cross; and sold ninety thousand christians to the Jews of his states, who put them all to death.

The mind is harassed with this bloody chronology, yet it remains to follow Chofroes to Upper

and Lower Egypt, which he conquered ; thus uniting the monarchy of Africa to that of Asia—a project vainly attempted by the most illustrious of his ancestors. He then returned to attack the empire, and sent an arrogant answer to Heraclius, who again sued for peace. “ I will grant it,” said he, “ when you and your subjects shall abjure the crucified deity, and embrace the religion of the Persians.” Heraclius, freed from his other wars, marched in person against Chosroes, defeated him, and still offered him peace, which was rejected with contempt. But the Persian was not able to maintain his haughtiness ; he fled, after being again beat in a pitched battle by the Romans, and left fifty thousand prisoners, whom Heraclius generously set at liberty. The emperor gained afterwards, against two Persian generals, so complete a victory, that the conqueror was obliged to release a prisoner to carry an account of their defeat to his countrymen.

The character of Chosroes, already too cruel, was rendered still worse by these defeats ; the nobility, the people, the foldiers, and all those around him, were made responsible for his misfortunes. An insolent letter had been the cause of the dreadful catastrophe which befel his father Hormisdas : and an imprudent letter precipitated the son into a situation no less terrible. As he entertained an ill-founded suspicion against Sarbas, one of his generals, he wrote to another, without farther ex-

amination, to arrest his colleague, and to put him to death. This letter having fallen into the hands of the Romans, they sent it to the condemned victim. Sarbas, to his own name, added those of four hundred officers of distinction, who by these means appeared, like him, destined to punishment. This letter, thus falsified, being made known to the army, created a great number of malcontents, of whom Sarbas formed a considerable body, and retired with them to one of the Roman camps. The conduct of Chosroes, on this occasion, is the less excusable, as he had need, at that time, of the perfect obedience of his subjects, as well as the concurrence of his troops, to carry into execution the project he had formed of giving the crown to Merdapas, the youngest of his sons, to the prejudice of Siroes, the eldest. The latter being informed of his father's design, raised the standard of revolt. Heraclius set at liberty the Persian prisoners, of whom he had a great number, on condition that they would join Siroes, who thus soon found himself at the head of a strong army to oppose his father. Chosroes, who was weakened by age, fatigue, and chagrin, suffered himself to be taken without any resistance, and was deposed after a reign of thirty years.

But this was not the end of his misfortunes. Siroes, 626.

"Providence," according to the expression of a certain poet, "had need to make an expiation for the success granted to the parricide Chosroes."

The first care of the son was to put chains around his legs, arms, and neck. He then caused him to be shut up in a dungeon, which was left open to all those who could find pleasure in the spectacle of misfortune. "How do you find yourself?" said the merciless spectators—"What do you think of the bitter cup, of which you made whole nations taste? It is just that you should be hurled from the throne into a dungeon, since you peopled the prisons, while you enjoyed it." He languished five days in this state, having no other nourishment than bread and water; at the end of which time his favourite son was put to death in his presence. Siroes then gave orders, that the body of his father should be pierced with arrows, and that he should be left in that state to expire. This cruel son did not long enjoy the diadem tinged with the blood of his father, as he died in the course of the year.

Ifdigertes II.
630.

He was succeeded by his son Ardeser; but Sarbas, who commanded the army, pretending that he had been improperly raised to the throne, as the troops were not consulted, caused the young prince to be put to death, and assumed the diadem himself. The nobility, displeased to see one of their own body become their master, resolved to restore the crown to the royal family. They, therefore, got rid of Sarbas, and proclaimed as king Ifdigertes II. the son of a brother of Siroes, who had escaped from being massacred. Historians

are not agreed in regard to the character of this monarch. Some represent him as an effeminate prince, who slumbered in the arms of pleasure, and left his kingdom a prey to the Saracens. Others say, that he defended his country with intrepidity, until the Persians, harassed with warfare and battles, received among them the new conquerors. As the Medes had incorporated themselves with the Persians; the Persians with the Parthians; and the Parthians again with the Persians; these modern Persians suffered to be incorporated among them the Saracens, the followers of the religion of Mahomet, which was substituted for that of the magi. This change took place about the year 640. Historians are as much divided respecting the fate of Iddigertes, as respecting his character. Those who assign to him bravery and magnanimity, make him to have been killed in a battle. Those who refuse him these qualities pretend, that being fonder of repose than of glory, he resigned his diadem to the Saracens, on condition that they would suffer him to live at peace in a small province, where he died.

We are indebted to the oriental writers for having collected anecdotes, witty sayings, ingenious replies, and other agreeable traits, respecting the Persians, which were either neglected by, or unknown to, the Greeks. Their variety will relieve the mind after the tiresome monotony of wars, and form a pleasing contrast to the atrocities too

common in this part of ancient history. The reader will sometimes have occasion to be astonished at the difference of the opinions entertained in regard to the same person.

Ardeschir, the same as Artaxares, whom the Greeks make to be the son of the wife of a shoemaker, was born, according to the oriental authors, of a princess of the royal blood. He never carried on war, but when indispensably necessary. He was a benefactor to his people; divided them into different classes, according to their professions; established magistrates to govern them, as well as masters to instruct them; and diminished the use of capital punishment. "We ought never," said he, "to employ the sword, except when milder punishment is ineffectual." He wrote a book entitled, *Rules for living happy*. In this work he laid down maxims the practice of which is necessary to all men, from the monarch to the meanest artificer. One of his successors issued an order that every family should have a copy of it.

Sapor I. under the name of Schabour, is justified by the orientals for the cruelty which the Greeks impute to him in regard to Valerian. They ascribe to him mild virtues, which seem incompatible with the order he is said to have given, that this emperor should be flayed alive. It is related of Hormouz, named Hormisdas, that the governor of one of his provinces, situated towards India, sent an express to inform him that

he might have an opportunity of purchasing some beautiful diamonds for a hundred thousand pieces of gold. The king refused; but the governor sent a second express to tell him that he could gain by the bargain a hundred per cent. "Neither a hundred nor a thousand per cent," replied Hormouz, "can tempt me. If I undertake the business of merchant, who will perform that of king? What will become of the Persian merchants, if I employ my treasures to deprive them of that gain which they ought to acquire?" Varanes, called Varharanes, who caused Mani, or Manes, to be flayed alive for his religious opinions, said: "No definition can be given of humanity, as it comprehends all the virtues." Schabour or Sapor II. carried on a cruel persecution against the Arabs. He caused a great number of them to be put to death; and the shoulder-bones of all who were able to bear arms to be broken. An Arab, who was sent to him as a deputy to beg that he would put an end to this cruelty, having asked him the reason of it, he replied: "It is because I have been told by my astrologers that your nation will give birth to a person who will one day overturn the Persian monarchy." "You either believe it," returned the Arab, "or you do not believe it. If you do not believe it, why this barbarity? And if you believe it, would it not be prudent to behave with a little more mildness towards people who

\ “ you think will be one day the masters of your
“ subjects?” The justness of this reasoning induced the monarch to change his conduct. Baharam, or Varanes V. being deprived of the sceptre by his father, put his rival, named Refra, to a proof, which the latter durst not hazard. Being on the eve of coming to a battle, Baharam said: “ In order to spare the effusion of blood, let the
“ crown be placed between two hungry lions;
“ and let it belong to him who shall have the
“ boldness to go and take it.” Baharam offered Refra the honour of making the first attempt. Refra replied: “ As it is already in my possession,
“ it is you who ought to endeavour to take it.” Baharam, without farther hesitation, killed the two lions, and carried off the crown, which Refra no longer disputed. Under Baharam two palaces were built with so much art, that, if a single stone had been taken from either of them, it would have tumbled down. The architect, when he died, carried this secret along with him.

The order issued by Cobad, or Cavades, to all the women in his kingdom not to refuse their favours to any man who demanded them, was considered as an act of madness. It was a piece of religious folly, inspired by Mazdek, the disciple of Manes, who could find no better means to make the Persians abandon their taste for women and riches, than to render both common. Cobad adopted his system more through libertinism, no

doubt, than persuasion. His son Chofroes extirpated this new sect, by subjecting the founder of it, together with his chief disciples, to the punishment of death. "It is neither thee nor thine," said he to him, "that I wish to destroy. I only wish to save myself, and the people entrusted to my care." The object indeed in chastizing the wicked, ought not to be so much their punishment as the safety of the people.

But if Chofroes, named Nouschirvan, knew how to punish, he knew also how to appreciate crimes, and to forgive. An officer of his household, whom he had dismissed, found himself reduced by his disgrace to the utmost poverty. One day the king having given a grand entertainment on his birthday, the officer carried away a gold dish, which no body saw but the monarch. When the tables were cleared, the dish was missed, and sought for with the utmost anxiety. "Be not uneasy," said Chofroes, to his domestics, "he who has taken the dish will not restore it; and he who saw him will not inform." The next year the same officer presented himself at the royal entertainment, as usual, and Chofroes seeing him in a new dress, whispered in his ear: "Was it with my dish that you bought this fine robe?" "Yes, sire," replied the officer; and shewing the under part of his dress, which was exceedingly shabby, "you see plainly," added he, "that I could do nothing more." By this humorous sally, he got himself

again received into favour. Like David, Nourschirvan had a darling son, who revolted against him: like David, he recommended him, in affectionate terms, to the general whom he sent against him; and the son, like Absalom, expiated by his death the crime of his rebellion. It was religious enthusiasm which misled this young prince.

The following are some of the maxims of this prince, and of others. Exhortation to his son:—
“ Never set your foot in a province but to do
“ good to all the inhabitants; and never leave it
“ but to go and do good in another. Protect the
“ sciences, and follow the advice given you by
“ aged counsellors. Prevent young people from
“ interfering in state affairs.” He was accosted
one day by a courier crying out: “ God is just!
“ God is just! The implacable enemy of our master
“ has been carried off by death.” “ God
“ forbid,” replied the king, with composure,
“ that I should rejoice at the death of my enemy.
“ There is nothing more ridiculous than for mortals
“ to rejoice at an instance of mortality.” His
domestics being in a hurry to get ready for him a
dish of game, which he had ordered, took some
handfuls of salt which did not belong to them.
“ Go immediately,” said he, “ and let the owner
“ be paid.” Then turning towards his vizier,
“ The affair,” added he, “ is of little importance
“ in itself; but a king ought always to be just,
“ because he serves as an example to his subjects.

“ Since I ought to make my people observe
“ justice in the most trifling things, I ought to
“ shew them, by my own conduct, that this ob-
“ servance is possible. The longest life, and the
“ most glorious reign, pass away like a dream,
“ and our successors tread almost on our heels.
“ It was from my father I received this diadem,
“ which will soon serve another.”

“ What is the most disagreeable situation?”
said a king to his courtiers. A philosopher re-
plied: “ Old age, joined to poverty.” A sage:
“ Extreme dejection of mind, accompanied with
“ excruciating pain.” The prime-minister: “ He
“ who is near the term of his life, without having
“ practised virtue.” The two sages resigned the
palm to the minister.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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